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# Southeast Asia Report

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, OCTOBER 1983

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26 January 1984

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, October 1983

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## SURGE TOWARD MEETING OUR PEOPLE'S GROWING CULTURAL REQUIREMENTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 1-4

[Editorial; passages within slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Since the early days of mankind's history, besides man's biological needs there have been spiritual demands, such as dancing around a campfire and drawing on stone walls. Moreover, even man's biological needs have been satisfied /humanely, through creative labor,/ and not through the instinct of producers who turn out materials and tools only to satisfy their own demands. Culture already existed in this primitive historic behavior: Man needs to be knowledgeable and creative, to acquire and transmit experiences, to enjoy beauty, to entertain, and to socialize. Man has transformed all his biological and non-biological needs into cultural demands of his material and spiritual lives.

As history evolves, these two types of cultural demands in the material and spiritual lives of human beings have become increasingly intertwined in the social life of each person. Besides our need for political, ethical, scientific, educational, and artistic culture, we also need a culture of labor, management, production and consumption. Even in the matter of food we need culture, and there is a cultural demand for food (culinary arts, diet, and eating etiquette). Lodging also has its own culture and need (architecture, construction industry, interior equipment, and exterior decoration). Dressing also has its own culture and demands. Production not only needs technical knowledge and skills, light and colors, and industrial sanitation and arts, but also class friendship, comradeship, a spirit of socialist cooperation, and sense of citizenship. It is therefore incorrect to understand cultural demands too narrowmindedly by separating culture from production; mechanically divorcing culture from economy; and paying attention only to economic requirements while not paying or paying improper attention to the cultural demands of the people. In our society, culture provides effective support to the economy and is not merely a "nonproductive" sector.

Our people, who claim "a long-standing culture," have long treasured cultural and moral values and have long known how to use these values as a material force to fight the enemy and build the country. Now, in the new era, after having regained their independence and freedom to advance toward socialism

throughout the country, our people's cultural demands in their material and spiritual lives have become even greater, richer, and more diversified, and urgent in some respects.

These demands include /requirements for information/: a desire to understand current news concerning their primary installations and localities, their country and the world. They include /requirements of raising the level of cultural knowledge in general and specific knowledge of specialized sectors/ involving labor, production, organization, and management. They also include /ethical and lifestyle requirements/ involving the practical use and establishment of human relations within families and in society. Furthermore, they include /aesthetic demands/, especially among youths and teenagers who want to enjoy and compose literature and art and to make scientific and technical inventions. They include /demands for rest, healthy entertainment, physical training, and exchanges of feelings./ All these requirements and demands should be satisfied quantitatively and qualitatively with emphasis placed mainly and primarily on quality. This is a detail of prime importance in cultural demands which we cannot belittle.

Our people's cultural demands have not been satisfactorily fulfilled, although our culture continues to develop, the building of a new cultural life at the grassroots level is progressing somewhat, and the masses have raised their consumption of literary and artistic works a little every year. The serious economic difficulties evidently affect cultural development. The publishing norms for books, papers, and other cultural works have seriously decreased because of the shortage of paper. However, given certain conditions, we still have not rationally or effectively exploited and used our existing capacity.

The average cultural consumption per person nationwide in 1981 was only 0.79 times of attendance at artistic shows and 5.22 times of attendance at movie shows. Also, in 1981, 0.35 books, 0.35 cultural works, and 2.66 journals were read per person. Although the rates of cultural consumption in major cities are a little higher, even in the capital of Hanoi, only one-third or less of the adult residents have read papers and magazines.

The excessive differences among the rates of cultural consumption and in the spiritual lives of the laboring people in various regions and among the various nationalities throughout the country are a matter of great concern. There are still a lot of illiterate people in the Mekong River Delta. In general, the cultural movement nationwide is developing, but not regularly. In the border areas, on islands, and in the former revolutionary bases and outlying rural areas, the level of cultural life is very low. In some localities, there are still no movies, artistic shows, or other cultural activities at all throughout the year.

Since the quality of our cultural work is not high, we have scored only limited results in developing our people's fine nature and courage in labor and combat and in enduring hardships and difficulties. We have also only scored limited results in the struggles against the manifestations of serious deterioration in the ethical behavior and lifestyle of some people, including workers, youths, cadres, and party members, and against the backward mores of

society and the influence of the decadent reactionary culture of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The distribution, organization, and use of cultural products are still irrational in several aspects and irrelevant to the objectives. In some localities, there has been at times a tendency to "commercialize" culture by running after base taste to get more profits and money and by dealing in arts and overriding the goal of serving the laboring people, thus turning the people's right to enjoy arts into a privilege of rich people.

We have not specifically grasped the cultural demands of the people of all strata, all regions, and all ages. This results in a shortage in one locality and an excess in another. Demands are usually satisfied in a simplistic and uniform manner. Many of the new demands of the laboring people, especially youths, have not been given proper attention. Since aesthetic education to promote good taste is still lacking and demands are not properly guided, there are still a lot of irrational and unhealthy demands causing a situation in which culture becomes a complete failure and disorder right at the place where cultural activities are conducted.

Finally, the organization to meet our people's cultural demands is still poor and consequently unable to optimally develop the results of existing cultural products.

In order to meet our people's growing cultural demands, we should first strive /to develop and qualitatively enhance all cultural activities./ The cultural potential among our people is very great. Following the guideline of cooperation between the state and the people and between the central and local governments, we will certainly be able to develop both in breadth and depth our education, public health, sports and physical training, and culture and arts throughout the country. We can expand even more broadly the mass cultural movements (mass literary and artistic movements, reading movement, traditional education movement, new life-building movement, sports and physical training movement, and so forth) because the masses are not passive in fulfilling their own demands. They receive and create cultural works simultaneously. They can compose many valuable cultural works to satisfy their own demands. There should be plans, policies, and specific measures to qualitatively enhance cultural and artistic activities in the domains of composition, performance, teaching, research, and compilation with the aims of "serving national defense, socialist construction, and socialist transformation; of building new men; and of struggling against negativism in the present socio-economic life."(1). Particularly in the domain of composition, the requirements are to consolidate composition campuses, expand and satisfactorily use the cultural funds, improve the system of realistically sending cadres on temporary duty missions, increase the amount of information on the situation in the country, introduce advanced models to artists and writers, and make proper investment in the composition of valuable works.

We should continue the survey and study of the people's cultural demands and real cultural life, which began in 1982. On this basis, we will realistically /accelerate the building of cultural life at the grassroots level/ with respect to movements, machinery, systems, and material and technical bases in

a well planned, consistent, and effective manner. This is a major task of the cultural sector which must be done in coordination with other related sectors. We should grasp the situation and characteristics of different primary installations in various regions and immediately establish some pilot models of cultural life for a province, city, district, and precinct. Then we should expand these models to the entire area. Until 1985, we will be able to fulfill the requirement of giving "cultural life to each primary installation" as specified in the 5th Party Congress resolution.

The fulfillment of our people's cultural demands in the present situation cannot be separated from the struggle against enemy sabotage on the cultural front. We should therefore, concentrate on urgently and resolutely eliminating the negative backward lifestyle and neo-colonialist, enslaving, reactionary, and decadent culture. We must alertly oppose all the enemy's psychological warfare tricks, considering it an important part of building a healthy and civilized life in cities as well as in the rural areas and building a socialist lifestyle for the laboring people involving all aspects of labor, work, spiritual activities, and social relations. While fulfilling demands, we must simultaneously educate the masses--especially youths of all strata--and orient their new and diversified cultural demands and tastes. We should continuously emphasize the socialist transformation of art troupes in the south because this is the struggle between two cultures and a component and manifestation of the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

/Cultural products must be distributed and used more rationally./ Our culture serves the laboring people. All magazines, papers, films, songs, music, and stage art must reach the required places and recipients who are laboring, fighting, or are ready to fight to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland. We resolve to overcome the tendency of "commercializing" arts, restore socialist order in this domain, eliminate injustice, and gradually level all excessive differences in cultural enjoyment among the people of all strata and nationalities in various regions. Special attention should be paid to the border areas, islands, former revolutionary bases, and so on. In the present difficult situation, we should increase even more the rates of using cultural products in such a way that every paper, magazine, stage show, and film can serve as many people as possible.

Finally, it is extremely necessary and urgent to improve cultural organization and management to cope with the requirements of the new revolutionary stage. This primarily calls for the regular concern and close leadership and guidance of the party and administration at all levels over the building of a new cultural life for the people. This is to basically stabilize the cultural organization from the central to the grassroots levels. This is the basic and advanced training of leading and professional cadres for the culture sector in order to revamp and strengthen the cultural machinery at all levels. Along with consolidating the various advisory agencies, we should replan the use of theaters, art troupes and schools, and primary production and business installations; actively build the grassroots level; clearly define the function and tasks of each organization and person; make the party and mass organizations strong and firm; establish work statutes, and reconsider all systems and policies concerning the arts sector.

If we thoroughly understand the spirit and content of the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress and the various Party Central Committee plenums concerning leadership and cultural activities; if we direct our effort toward the primary installations; and if we work in accordance with a scientific and realistic plan, we will certainly be able to surge toward fulfilling our people's ever growing cultural demands.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Fourth Plenum resolution of the 5th Party Central Committee, dated 24 June 1983.

CS0: 4210/15

TO OUR PEOPLE, SOCIALISM IS A GOOD AND BEAUTIFUL ENCOUNTER, IS A RENDEZVOUS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 5-10

[Text of letter sent by Pham Van Dong to the 3rd Congress of Vietnamese Writers]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party, allow me to convey to the 3rd Congress of Vietnamese Writers and the corps of persons active in literature warm greetings and affection. May this congress of yours mark a new stage of development of Vietnamese literature.

The 4,000 year history of Vietnam proves that our nation came together as a community at a very early date and was bound closely together by patriotism and love of the family, by loving others as oneself. The Vietnamese community constantly grew in the process of defending and building the country, reaching pinnacles in the face of the major challenges of history and using the forces and intelligence of the entire nation to perform deeds that are a source of pride to the generations of today and will be a source of pride to future generations as well. Our national history reflects the values, strengths and traditions of a culture, which was a fact recognized by our forefathers when they asserted that our Vietnam was a civilized country.

The course that our nation has been following has led in the same direction as the trend of the world today, that is, the liberation of society, national liberation and the liberation of man, and the close relationship among these three liberation causes is the vivid reality of the world today. Thus, the meeting between Vietnam and the world was inevitable, was the result of the internal trends of development of Vietnam and the world. Nguyen Ai Quoc's discovery of Lenin through the "Thesis on the Nationalities Question" was an extremely important historic milestone. From that point onward, the Vietnamese revolution was closely linked to the world revolution. Our nation, which inhabits a region which has always been a point of convergence of many cultures and has, since antiquity, been sensitive to and incorporated the good and beautiful aspects of many other nationalities, opened its doors wider to accept the very best of mankind.



The development of the nation of Vietnam in the more than one-half century since the founding of the party has been marked by victories of historic and epochal significance. Developing upon these achievements, our people are now making every effort to build socialism and protect their beloved socialist fatherland. The socialist revolution has placed very high, unprecedented demands upon each and every person; at the same time, it has created favorable conditions for the development of each and every person, for the realization of our most beautiful dreams.

As they live and work in the revolutionary undertaking of the nation, writers, the persons engaged in cultural and art activities and the persons who work in the social sciences within our country have the great joy and the noble mission of fighting for a great cause, for a great nation, for great people.

Since the August Revolution, while fighting and winning victory over the most impetuous of the aggressors, our people in the North gradually built a new life for themselves, a life that encompasses the new culture, a culture which combines the nation's cultural traditions with the great thinking of our times. The victory of our people in the wars of resistance against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists have been victories of the correct line of our party, victories of our system, a system that brandishes the two banners of national independence and socialism, victories of the people's war and, at the same time, victories of Vietnamese culture in the age of Ho Chi Minh. Living in harmony with the lives of the people, the various generations of Vietnamese writers have made glorious contributions to the revolutionary cause and produced many works of value, works that are imbued with the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" and reflect the revolutionary heroism of our people. The great war of resistance that was fought by our nation gave birth to a movement of literary and artistic creativity among the various strata of the people and among the armed forces, a movement from which talented writers emerged. Some of the works on the war of resistance, works that were written in the flames of combat and expressed the heartfelt feelings of writers, were warmly received by the people at home and applauded in many countries of the world. The new literature, which is an integral part of the new culture of Vietnam, is worthy of taking its place in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literatures of our times.

Dear Comrades,

The socialist revolution, the establishment of the system of collective ownership of the working people, the establishment of large scale, socialist production, the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man are being carried out in both breadth and depth by our people. This is the most thorough, the most fundamental and the most comprehensive of revolutions, is a revolution that profoundly changes many aspects of social life, of the nation and each person. As mentioned above, the nature of the Vietnamese themselves and the entire course of our national history have prepared our people to arrive at socialism as naturally as a river flows to the sea, as easily as nature brings fruit to bear under the sunlight. To our people, socialism is a good and beautiful encounter, is a rendezvous.

Today, throughout our country, the socialist revolution is a difficult, arduous and complex undertaking to which we must devote all our efforts. This is because we are advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, advancing from a poor country in which small-scale production still predominates, a country that was ravaged by more than 30 continuous years of war and must now contend with the intense, wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy. Complex difficulties are part of the revolution itself but compounding these difficulties are mistakes that we have made in our work, among which the corruption in economic and social life is especially deserving of attention.

The revolution is struggle and the socialist revolution of our nation is a very sharp, tenacious and creative struggle being carried out in accordance with the line set forth in the proceedings of the 4th Congress of the Party, a struggle that has the objective of gradually developing a socialist Vietnam that has a modern industrial-agricultural economy, an advanced culture and science, a strong and solid national defense system and a civilized and happy life. In this entire process, we are now in the initial stage, the purpose of which is to achieve the most pressing and practical objectives set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party and lay the groundwork for subsequent stages.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. The combined strength of the three revolutions, which develops within the collective ownership movement of the working people under the leadership of the party and is exercised through the management activities of the state, is a moving force of tremendous importance within our society. Our entire nation and each worker have truly become fully responsible collective masters, consider the work of the country to be their own work and endeavor to perform their work well in order to contribute to the common work of the country; it is through the socialist revolution that this capability has emerged for the first time in our history.

Each of us must recognize the following fact: because our nation has been a community since antiquity, the working people of our country today are prepared to adopt the thinking of being the collective masters.

Collective mastery highly develops the material and spiritual forces of the entire nation and each person, within each subward, hamlet, enterprise, cooperative, district, province and sector as well as throughout the entire country. The socialist revolution of the masses is closely associated with the activities, the progress and the forward momentum of each person.

We are always doing everything we can to reduce the difficulties being faced and gradually improve our material lives. At the same time, we attach very much importance to cultural life: the ethics of man and inter-personal relationships within each family, within each collective and in society as a whole. In material terms, we do not have a high standard of living; however, in cultural terms, we must have a wholesome, happy and beautiful life.

On the basis of this viewpoint, which reflects the tremendous importance of the ideological and cultural revolution, the revolution has a direct impact upon the thinking and feelings of man and turns the great ideas and sentiments



of socialism into the moving forces behind the three revolutions; as Uncle Ho said: "To build socialism, we must first of all have socialists."

Our people are proving their ability to exercise collective mastery by gradually becoming the masters of the economic, cultural and social revolutions at one place and in one area after another, with the ultimate goal being becoming the masters of nature, the masters of society and the masters of themselves. The socialist revolution is causing heroic collectives and heroic persons to blossom, collectives and persons who are filled with intelligence and creativity and working hard to overcome difficulties and record achievements. Today, we happily see the bright flowers of socialism at the outstanding units in agriculture and industry, within the armed forces, within the fields of culture, education, public health and so forth. Some years ago, no one was able to fully record all the heroic events that occurred in one day of the fight against the United States. Now, no one is able to fully record all the good things that happen in one day of the socialist revolution in our country.

To our nation, history is a close and loyal travelling companion and the revolution means always fighting and winning victory, fighting until final victory is won. From the perspective of assuming and completing its new mission of building socialism and defending the fatherland, our country and our nation have never been as strong as they are today. Although there are still many difficulties, hardships and dark shadows, we must realize that the overall picture of our people's revolution is bright.

Within the socialist revolution, revolution and science are one, the revolution is science and science is the revolution. That which is correct, that which is good and that which is beautiful exist everywhere, in each thing that we do and each person and coalesce as one. Scientific socialism, socialist ethics and socialist aesthetics are very closely interrelated.

Dear Comrades,

The socialist revolution has given a very important role to literature and art and demands that writers fulfill an important historic mission. This mission is to reflect in their works the socialist revolution and the persons who are exercising socialist collective mastery. Writers must describe the beauty of life and create beauty within man in order to truly become the engineers of the soul.

Let us remember the words of a poem written by Uncle Ho:

"Today, there must be steel in our poems  
Even poets must know how to launch assaults."

Today, the writers and poets of our country must be socialist revolutionary militants, just as they were soldiers in the war of resistance for independence and freedom. Writers must understand and trust in the socialist undertaking that is unfolding each day with all their reason and sentiment. Writers must live the socialist revolution as their own life and be filled with enthusiasm, zeal and excitement.

Writers must resolve the questions that they have, that each person and the entire corps have. Over the past several years, these questions have weakened many writers, sometimes to the point where they have failed to deeply involve themselves in the situation, failed to take the correct position, failed to fulfill their literary task. At present, our work is like a river, the debris along the banks cannot hide the pure and sparkling water of the river itself. Writers must immerse themselves in this pure water and find within it an extremely beautiful source of inspiration.

As revolutionary militants, writers must delve deeply into socialist life, must gain an understanding of this life, must discover and create it with a breadth of vision, must see the light and the shadows, the past and the future, Vietnam and the world, especially the seeds and sprouts that will become the fruits of tomorrow. With the passage of time and from the perspective of today's socialist revolution, writers are able to examine the recent wars of resistance more thoroughly, more clearly and in a more general manner and must make an effort to produce major literary works that are worthy of the great fight waged by our people for independence and freedom, especially in the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Through their works, writers must inspire our people to love one another, to unite and work together, to become brave, intelligent militants who are rich in creativity in production and socialist construction as well as in the defense of the fatherland, militants who are the perfect combination of ardent patriotism and noble socialist international sentiments. Writers must make every effort to imbue each of us with the thinking of Marx: "The free development of each person is the prerequisite to the free development of all persons."

In life as well as in their works, writers cannot avoid dark shadows and can write about them in very vivid detail; however, their purpose in doing so must be to accentuate other things, that is, they must write about corruption and backwardness chiefly for the purpose of accentuating that which is correct, good and beautiful.

Naturally, the creative method employed by our writers is socialist realism. The writer must always discover and create on the basis of the reality of society and man. Socialist realism respects and encourages a wide variety of styles, a variety as rich as life itself, as rich as the socialist revolution. In conjunction with employing the method of socialist realism, writers must always remember that they are revolutionary militants and produce works that reflect the socialist revolution in a vivid and creative manner and harshly criticize every tendency that is incorrect, especially the manifestations of liberalism, individualism and a lack of professionalism, the pursuit of base tastes and even decadence and the malady of employing crude and artificial formulas.

Those persons who work in the field of literary theory and criticism must closely collaborate with writers, raise the level of readers, improve the quality of their work and the degree to which it reflects principles and concern themselves with cultivating and encouraging good works and talented authors who show prospects, thereby competently supporting both the creation and the enjoyment of literature.

The Vietnam Writers Association must truly become a socialist revolutionary organization, become an increasingly large and effective collective concerned with the creative works of its members, become a large, close family in which everyone loves and helps one another, a family in which the atmosphere always reflects the clear and noble nature of literature and serves as an additional source of enthusiasm to each person. Within the corps of writers, utmost respect must be shown for those writers who have steadfastly struggled on the literary front for roughly one-half century and who continue to enthusiastically produce literary works; at the same time, special concern for training, cultivating, encouraging and creating the conditions needed for progress must be given to young writers who were challenged in the resistance against the United States and during the past 8 years, writers who are a very important and vital part of our present corps of writers and are the future of our country's literature.

Within our country's corps of writers, there is no shortage of talented persons. The achievements that have been recorded since the August Revolution prove that our writers can produce works of value and advance to the point where they are producing major literary works worthy of the people's revolutionary undertaking.

Dear Comrades,

Attending today's congress of writers are representatives of the associations of art, music, theatrical art, cinematography, photography and architecture. They, too, are about to hold the congresses of their sectors. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party, allow me to convey to the persons active in the various fields of art in our country warm congratulations and heartfelt feelings of affection.

Together with literature, the other fields of art, each on the basis of its own special characteristics and strengths, have recorded exciting achievements and made worthy contributions to the revolutionary undertaking of the people, especially in the wars of resistance against aggression. Representative achievements of many fields of art in our country have been applauded at home and received high praise at many international art exhibits and festivals. In the various stages of the revolution, the forces of each field of art have continuously grown from the perspective of their creativity and research as well as their performances.

In the years ahead, our corps of artists must make stronger and more comprehensive progress, correct the mistakes that have been made and endeavor to develop their field of art and fulfill their noble task in the socialist revolution. In their lives as well as their artistic activities, our artists must be the perfect combination of the artist and the revolutionary militant, must be artists who possess the thinking and soul of socialist, revolutionary militants, be militants who fight through their works of art. Every field of art must make the beauty in the socialist revolution, in the life of the people and in Vietnamese man the beauty of their works. They must also closely coordinate with one another to promote the three revolutions, especially the ideological and cultural revolution, and build a system of art of a socialist content and nation nature.

Our nation is waiting for, our nation demands and our nation is ready to applaud literary and artistic works on the socialist revolution and the Vietnamese socialist man. Works of literature and art are above comparison with regard to the profound, strong and lasting impact they have in teaching, in mobilizing persons and in remolding thinking. As we know, in the history of nations, great works have been the close and indispensable friends of one generation after another.

Writers and the persons active in the various fields of art must march steadily down the path of the party and the nation, devote themselves to the cause of the people, grow within the revolutionary movement and grow, both as a corps and as individuals, in terms of their knowledge of the socialist revolution, their thinking and soul, their vision, talent and style, grow at the same pace as the socialist revolution and the people of Vietnam. The writers and the persons active in the various fields of art of our country, all of whom have the love and respect of the people, will surely reap large harvests.

I wish the 3rd Congress of Vietnamese Writers fine success.

I wish the upcoming congresses of the other fields of art fine success.

7809

CSO: 4210/15

THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND AND SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE NEW AGRICULTURAL TAX POLICY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 11-16, 45-46

[Article by Chu Tam Thuc; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Prompt Improvement of the Agricultural Tax Policy Is Necessary

The agricultural tax policy is a major policy of the party and the state. Implemented in 1951, this policy was initially aimed at motivating peasants to contribute their manpower and assets to serving the anti-French resistance and at readjusting part of the land endowments of the landlords and rich peasants classes.

Repeatedly supplemented and revised through various stages since the land reform and agricultural cooperativization in the north and since the total liberation of the south, the agricultural tax policy has become instrumental in boosting agricultural production, accelerating socialist transformation, strengthening new production relations in rural areas, and especially enabling the state to secure a quantity of grain needed for national construction and defense and for the betterment of the people's livelihood.

The agricultural tax policy and efforts to organize and manage the collection of taxes in the past have, however, show certain deficiencies:

The tax policy has not been uniform nationwide. Agricultural tax is a kind of tax levied on land endowments. Once a piece of land produces endowments, the beneficiary will have to pay a tax which was previously calculated according to the average per capita income of each agricultural household. The starting level for taxation in the north was 60 kilos of paddy per capita, and in the south 200 kilos of paddy per capita. Formerly, such stipulations were suited to various policies of the party and the state, such as the policy on population growth and the policy to encourage the sending of laborers to open virgin land areas. Furthermore, more than 30 percent (or even up to 40 percent in certain cases) of private agricultural households formerly enjoyed tax exemptions for their land use, thus causing the agricultural tax policy to lose its fair and reasonable character and rendering it impossible to develop its effect in the management and use of land.

Formerly, as far as the collective economic sector (cooperatives) was concerned, the tax was not calculated according to land area and the fertility of soil. Instead, it was calculated according to the total amount of tax paid by all members of a cooperative before they joined this cooperative, with the maximum level of tax being 25 percent. As a result, the average percentage of tax varied greatly from one cooperative to another. Cooperatives with a large number of poor peasants enjoyed low tax quotas while cooperatives with large land areas but a small population had to accept rather high tax quotas.

Land area, crop yield, and agricultural population are the principal factors on which the agricultural tax is calculated. As for land area, many localities have thus far not started measuring their land areas. As for the calculation of tax, they have relied chiefly upon the figures on land area voluntarily declared by households. Consequently, errors in land measurement and dishonest declarations of land use are commonplace. The failure to reflect the real conditions of land has also been noted.

As for crop output and yields, the calculation of tax has also relied mainly on declared figures, without taking into account any analysis of the degree of fertility and the irrigation conditions for categorizing the land. Rapid increases, in the number of family household members, sometimes unnatural, indicated further attempts to make false declarations incompatible with the policy.

Organizational efforts to implement the tax policy have shown many deficiencies and errors, such as making erroneous tax calculations resulting in a tax collection shortfall, failing to promptly compile tax records, granting tax reductions or exemptions indiscriminately, allowing the practice of incomplete tax payments, permitting tax debts to pile up, and so forth. As a result, the state of the tax collection shortfall has become critical for several years now. Considering the amount of tax collected during a 5-year period (1976-80), tax payments constituted only 6.3 percent of the total volume of grain yields harvested.

In summation, although repeatedly revised, the former agricultural tax policy was designed to levy tax on land endowments, relying on the three factors--namely, land areas, crop yields, and the number of members in each rural household. This was a sort of graduated tax. This policy, however, failed to meet a demand for fair and reasonable contributions and to promote intensive cultivation, multiple cropping, the expansion of areas under cultivation, and increased management over and effective use of lands. The calculation of tax according to the agricultural population of each household was also not compatible with the principle of distribution according to labor and the current new managerial structure in agriculture. Under the old tax system, there was no distinction between collective and individual production so as to encourage the development of a collective economy and appropriately regulate the income of those who used large areas of land and engaged in individual production. Consequently, the improvement of the agricultural tax policy has become an urgent problem.



## Purposes and Main Contents of the Decree Law on Agricultural Tax

With the improvement of the agricultural tax system becoming an urgent problem, as early as 1980 the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau issued Resolution Number 26/NQTU, establishing guidelines and requirements for the revision of the agricultural tax policy. The resolution said: "THE AGRICULTURAL TAX POLICY MUST BE UNIFORM NATIONWIDE AND MUST BE FAIR AND SIMPLE. IT MUST ADVOCATE RELYING ON LAND AREAS AND THE FERTILITY OF SOIL TO PROMOTE INTENSIVE CULTIVATION, MULTICROPPING, AND THE EXPANSION OF AREAS UNDER CULTIVATION, AND MUST PROMOTE INCREASED MANAGEMENT OVER AND USE OF LAND. AGRICULTURAL TAX-COLLECTION PLANS AND EFFORTS MUST INSURE THAT THE STATE CAN COLLECT 10 PERCENT OF THE (NATION'S) TOTAL GRAIN YIELD AS TAX. AS FOR ESSENTIAL FARM PRODUCTS, TAX SHOULD BE PAID IN KIND. THOSE PRODUCTS TAXED IN CASH SHOULD BE GIVEN MARKET PRICES. ANYONE REFUSING TO PAY THE AGRICULTURAL TAX WILL BE PROHIBITED FROM EXPLOITING THEIR LAND."

In compliance with the 28 December 1982 resolution of the fourth meeting of the 7th National Assembly, the Council of State on 3 March 1983 promulgated a DECREE LAW SPECIFYING THE NEW AGRICULTURAL TAX POLICY to be applied nationwide, beginning 1983. In its Decision Number 25/HDBT, dated 30 March 1983, the Council of Ministers provided detailed stipulations for the implementation of the above decree law on agricultural tax.

The newly promulgated agricultural tax policy is designed to promote increased agricultural production and intensive cultivation for attaining a higher crop output; encourage multicropping, the expansion of areas under cultivation, and better management and use of land; promote socialist transformation in agriculture; serve as a contribution to stepping up agricultural cooperativization in the south and consolidating agricultural production cooperatives in the north; and insure appropriate accumulation for the state budget while guaranteeing the people's livelihood.

To promote intensive cultivation, multicropping, and an increase in rice output and the economic results of land use, agricultural tax is imposed mainly on agricultural land and based on the following factors for tax computation: land area and soil category for land cultivated around the year, and land areas and crop yields or annual value of crop yields for lands used as orchards or planted with perennial trees. The categorization of land cultivated around the year is based on soil fertility and on irrigation conditions. This can be done relatively easy because the bulk of crop plants cultivated yearly are grain and food crops, especially the rice crop. Paddy will be used as a means to compute any increase in the production output in all categories of land.

This is convenient for tax computation and serves as an encouragement for peasants to develop crop cultivation plans designed to serve requirements for consumption, for domestic industrial production, and for export. As for lands used for orchards or planted with perennial trees, the categorization of land is not required, considering the fact that the biological conditions of these crops are very different and that some kinds of soil fit for planting this crop may not be suited for planting other crops. To be more rational and simple, the computation of the tax must be based on the annual production volume or on the value of the annual production volume.

Also based on the concept of encouraging production, the constructive agricultural tax table applied to land cultivated year-round advocates levying a paddy tax on seven categories of land based on the soil fertility and irrigation conditions. Even for first-quality soil, the production output is set merely at 5 metric tons per hectare and the tax quota is also fixed—not predicated on crop yields.

Thus, peasants do not have to pay additional tax for any amount of paddy produced beyond the 5-ton mark. The rate of tax also varies from one region to another—lowlands, midlands, and mountainous regions. Because of the varied cultivation conditions in the three regions, the tax rate in each region must be different. In line with the party's nationalities policy, the tax rates for the mountainous region are set relatively lower than those for the midland and lowland regions.

As for lands planted with perennial trees or used as orchards, agricultural tax is not computed according to a fixed level of production output but to the proportion of annual production volume or the value of annual production volume of each crop. This is to suit the biological development process of perennial trees since they have many economic and technical characteristics quite different from those crop plants cultivated year-round.

The stipulation of a general incentive tax proportion of 12 percent for all kinds of perennial industrial crops and a standard tax proportion of 10-30 percent for fruit orchards based on the land area used by each household (between 1,000 and 5,000 square meters or 5,000 square meters and above) and the provision for the differences between general fruit trees and those indigenous fruit trees having high economic value and between individual economy and collective economy, reflect the legitimate concern of the state over the orchard-oriented economy as well as the just and rational character of the state's incentive policy for lands planted with each particular kind of crop.

To promote the expansion of areas under agricultural production, newly opened virgin lands and newly reclaimed wastelands will be temporarily entitled to tax exemptions—from 3 to 5 years for newly reclaimed wastelands and from 1 to 3 years for newly opened virgin lands, starting from the first crop harvest. As for newly reclaimed wastelands and newly opened virgin lands in new economic zones, high-lying areas, mountainous regions, and areas newly established for settled farming and settled life, the tax exemption period may be extended if the lives of the people there are beset with difficulties.

As specified by the Constitution, our land belongs to the entire population. All organizations and individuals using agricultural land or other kinds of land for agricultural production are dutybound to pay agricultural taxes. The above incentive policy has been calculated and established on the basis of socialist production relations, which are having, or will have a leading role in rural areas. Agricultural cooperatives or those agricultural production collectives having an administrative system similar to cooperatives must pay taxes in accordance with the law. Other organizations and individuals must also pay taxes in accordance with the general stipulations in addition to other levies depending on their status.



As they are still unable to stabilize their production plans and overcome imbalances in production and management, state farms and all state-run agricultural stations are entitled to a temporary exemption from the agricultural tax. They must, however, continue implementing the systems of surrendering their products and turning in part of their income as currently in practice.

All social organizations, public organs, mass organizations, enterprises, and state-employed cadres, office, and manual workers, including cadres, office, and manual workers of various state-run agricultural sites and stations, military units, officers and enlisted men, and members of cooperatives and production cooperatives, should pay taxes in accordance with the general stipulations applied for cooperatives if they use land for agricultural production to support their families' economies.

To suit the current situation and to draw a line between the family economy and collective economy, it is specified that the tax levied on land privately used by peasant households for production will be calculated according to the general stipulations for tax proportions in addition to a surcharge computed according to the total amount of tax to be paid, varying between 60 percent to the maximum and 10 percent to the minimum, depending upon the areas cultivated year-round by the peasant households concerned (not including category-7 land areas which have been distributed as compensation to those peasant households owning much unfertile land). Once the principal tax is added to the maximum surcharge of 60 percent, the tax rate levied on first-quality land will be approximately 22 percent in the lowlands, 20 percent in the midlands, and 19 percent in the mountainous region.

Because our agriculture-oriented country's production is still heavily affected by the natural elements, the decree law on agricultural tax also advocates giving tax exemptions or reduction when there is a serious crop failure due to natural calamities or the scourge of war and when there is poor crop harvest due to changes made in sowing schedules or in economic-technical production plans to suit the state plan.

Tax reductions will be given if crop damage accounts for more than 20 percent of the initial crop output of the related category of land. Tax exemptions will be granted if crop damage rises above 70 percent. Tax exemptions or reductions will not be considered for lands used as orchards or planted with perennial crops because tax for these kinds of lands is calculated according to annual production volume or the value of annual production volume.

In addition to difficulties caused by natural calamities and the scourge of war, those families of disabled soldiers and fallen heroes having difficulties earning a living and those households formerly exempted from land endowment tax because they did not have enough agricultural laborers and which now face difficulties making ends meet because they have to pay tax, will be considered for exemption from the surcharge or for tax exemption or reductions after confirmation from the local administration concerned is received.

## Some Problems Regarding the Organization of Work Implementation

Paying tax is the duty of every citizen. Anyone who uses land owned by the state is duty-bound to pay agricultural tax. During the transition to socialism, the agricultural tax task should be regarded as part of the class struggle to solve the problem of "who will defeat whom" in order to insure successes for socialism in the rural areas. Therefore, all party and administrative echelons must be fully aware of the significance of the agricultural tax-related task and must satisfactorily carry out ideological activities among party cadres and members as well as among the masses if the agricultural tax policy of the party and the state is to be scrupulously implemented.

First, we must MAKE EVERYONE FULLY AWARE OF THE FAIRNESS, RATIONALITY, SIMPLICITY, AND ESPECIALLY THE INCENTIVE FOR PRODUCTION of the new agricultural tax policy as it advocates promoting intensive cultivation, multicropping, the expansion of area under cultivation, and the increase in the management and use of land; and it establishes an acceptable tax rate for each category of land located in each particular region.

The qualities of SIMPLICITY, EASE OF COMPREHENSION, PRACTICALITY AS WELL AS FAIRNESS AND RATIONALITY of the new agricultural tax policy are reflected through the mode of taxation that IMPOSES A FIXED TAX QUOTA ON EACH PARTICULAR CATEGORY OF LAND, thus making it possible for peasants or any land exploiters to calculate the amount of tax they have to pay by themselves. Everyone should pay tax for the land they are exploiting. Those exploiting large areas of land or cultivating prime quality land should pay more tax than those exploiting smaller areas or poor-quality land. The amount of tax to be paid by each person does not depend on any factors other than LAND AREA and the category of land (or the annual production volume) and such a tax payment is linked merely with the right to land use.

The already-established table of fixed tax quotas, though listing only a few categories of land, is considered good enough to cover all categories of good- or poor-quality land in the country. For top quality land, the taxable crop output is set at metric tons of hectare. This equals only 40-50 percent of the crop output now being attained by many progressive agricultural production units. No additional tax will be paid for any output obtained beyond the 5-ton mark. This serves as a source of encouragement for everyone and every unit to develop production.

For the lowest category in the tax table, the fixed tax quota seems to be remarkable because it is designed to provide incentive to the expansion of areas under cultivation and to multicropping. The collection of tax in paddy--using rice as a general calibration for other crops cultivated around the year--is aimed at promoting the development of crop patterns, and the increase in the proportions of industrial, subsidiary food and vegetable crops in support of export, production, and domestic consumption.

Although being calculated according to proportions, the tax levied on land planted with perennial crops is still regarded as capable of insuring a correspondence and balance against the tax imposed on land planted with annual crops.

The new agricultural tax policy will also contribute to CARRYING OUT SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION IN AGRICULTURE. This is because the tax table is arranged in favor of the COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC sector, that is in favor of the advanced mode of production relations which is now prevailing in the rural areas. The tax table is also designed to encourage and attract peasants into collective work, thus contributing to insuring the completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the south by 1985.

Faced with the present situation and conditions in the south where the privately run economic sector is prevalent, we have no choice but to accept the tax rate now applied to the privately run economic sector although it is higher than that applied to the collective-run economic sector. Moreover, this tax rate has been set in favor of the privately run economic sector, taking into consideration the difficulties confronting individual production.

Paying agricultural tax is the duty of peasants toward the cause of socialist industrialization and of national construction and defense. Compared with before, the amount of agricultural tax collected under the new decree law should be increased in such a way as to make up 10 percent of the total volume of annual grain production. This tax collection rate is considered reasonable as it should be applied in such a way as to, on the one hand, reflect the progress achieved in agriculture thanks to the state's large investments in irrigation and intensive cultivation, and on the other hand, demonstrate the country's growing demand for economic and cultural development as well as for national defense.

It is necessary to make everyone fully aware that great assistance given by fraternal countries made it possible for us to meet all the demands of the country during the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Today, that source of assistance is no longer as generous as it was and the difficulties confronting the economy have become much fiercer and increasingly grave. Faced with such a situation, in order to secure the sources of funds needed for national construction and defense, the state has no alternative but to rely chiefly on the MOBILIZATION OF THE SOURCE OF FUNDS from within the country's economy. To achieve this aim, it is necessary for the state-run economic sector to strive to develop production, increase the use rate of machinery and equipment, raise the labor output, reduce production costs, cut down transportation costs, insure effective trading activities, and make more contributions to the state budget. As for those state- or privately-run economic establishments which have not yet been adequately mobilized, we must muster them to provide more appropriate contributions to the state.

It is necessary to vigorously develop patriotism and cultivate a sense of collective mastery and a self-reliant spirit for everyone, especially for peasants, making them fully aware of the difficulties now facing the country, especially those connected with the national budget, and of their responsibility and duties toward the fatherland so that they can scrupulously comply with the tax policy. In addition, we must guard against such phenomena as misinterpretation of the tax policy, tax evasion, tax fraud, and indiscriminate tax exemptions or reductions.

It is necessary to make cadres and the people clearly realize that the tax collection task is part of the tough and complex struggle between the two paths--socialist and capitalist--and that in this struggle, we must guard against the counter-propaganda against and distortion of the tax policy by the enemy and other evil elements. We must oppose those negative phenomena which may be found among peasants such as deliberately delaying their tax payments or failing to comply with the tax policy.

It is necessary to firmly grasp the viewpoint adopted by the party toward the masses in tax collection: that we must rely on, educate, and motivate the masses to struggle to implement the decree law on agricultural tax in accordance with the slogan: "Everyone has his duties toward the fatherland and is duty-bound to make contributions to the country if its heavy burden is to be shared in a fair and reasonable manner."

It is necessary to enhance the patriotism of the masses and their awareness of socialism so that they can happily and actively volunteer to pay their agricultural tax, considering this as their responsibility, duty and honor. As our country's peasants have a high sense of patriotism, if they are given a clear explanation on the agricultural tax policy, they will certainly and happily volunteer to pay tax in order to fulfill their duty toward the fatherland.

According to initial reports, there have been slow efforts to implement the decree law in certain areas. The methods of implementation adopted by those areas just starting to carry out the decree law are not uniform and not compatible with the guidelines stipulated by the Council of Ministers. All areas where the party committee echelons and the local administrations have attentively provided close guidance for preparatory work are reported to have completed the inventory and categorization of lands, quickly calculated tax rates, compiled tax records, detected more areas of land to be taxed, and categorized their lands in accordance with the real situation. They have won the people's support for this.

In certain areas, the new tax rate shows an increase of 30-40 percent over last year. The local peasants have, however, viewed this increase as appropriate and have happily paid their tax.

There are also many localities failing to satisfactorily implement the new agricultural tax policy. For instance, they have lowered the categories of land, putting quite large areas of land in the lowest category. Their inventory of land has not been carefully and appropriately carried out, thus rendering them unable to detect more areas of taxable land. Worse still, the figures on land areas provided by certain localities are unjustifiably smaller than before. Such phenomena must be promptly rectified if effective implementation of the decree law is to be insured.

Experience obtained over the years in tax collection shows that in order to insure scrupulous implementation of a party policy, we must firmly grasp and closely integrate the following four factors:

--The concern in leadership on the part of various party committee echelons and local administrations.

--Exemplary performance on the part of party cadres and members.

--An awareness of duties on the part of the masses.

--Respect for socialist law.

In addition, appropriate efforts must be made to strengthen the agricultural tax mechanism at all levels.

GSO: 4210/15

## SOME PROBLEMS IN APPLYING MARKET RELATIONS IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

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[Article by Che Viet Tan]

[Text] Applying market relations in economic management and planning is a subject that has for years been and is being studied and discussed in a number of socialist countries.

In our country, this is also a very important subject that is of great significance both theoretically and practically to the whole process of economic management and planning; and that is closely related to the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the initial stage of the transition period.

### I. A Planned Economy and the Application of Market Relations

We will not return to the virtually bygone period in which some socialist economists upheld the theory that goods-money relations no longer exist under socialism.

This theory has given rise to a concept that calls for a highly centralized management system for the socialist economy wherein administrative measures are enforced by the proletarian state to control all socio-economic activities, and that virtually negates market relations in economic management and planning while the law of value still remains active in the socialist economic system.

As time goes by, in the practical process of socialist construction, the issue involving market relations in a planned economy has been seriously considered in economic management and in the planning of the socialist economy.

We all know that market relations are closely linked with the production of goods under each particular social system. As our country is in the first stage of the transition period from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is necessary to point out the characteristics of our national economy by analyzing the nature of the market in this period.

The socialist and capitalist markets are similar in some respects as there exists in both of them goods, money, exchanges, profits, and the laws of value and of supply and demand. Capitalism uses the market as the medium to regulate production and distribute the national income for the purpose of enriching the capitalist class and expanding the capitalist production method.

Under the capitalist system, production and distribution are regulated by the law of value. Market competition and the extremely strong appeal of profits have a great impact upon production and distribution, prompting the capitalists to act quickly and dynamically in areas that bring about huge profits, or in other words, to answer the call of the market. Therefore, the capitalist economy can be referred to as a market economy or, to be more correct, a market commodity economy.

The workings of the socialist market are similar in some respects to those of the capitalist market; but they differ from the latter in nature. Production in a socialist society is basically the production of commodities. We still need to try by every means to enrich this production system both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Nevertheless, commodities in the socialist market are governed by socialist production relations and the system of public ownership of the means of production (production in a socialist society is the production of commodities although part of the production materials involved are both commodities and non-commodities).

Profits obtained from the market are partially allowed to accumulate for expanding the socialist production method (this is similar to the accumulation of capital for expanding the capitalist production method), and the rest is for distribution according to labor.

The socialist economy is influenced by the fundamental economic law of socialism and other economic laws such as the law governing the planned and balanced development of the national economy, the law of distribution according to labor, and so forth. These laws also develop their regulating role through the planned economy, including the market.

In the socialist market, the law of value and the law of supply and demand do not play an active role in regulating production and distribution. The dynamic character of the socialist market lies not in competition." Here, production and distribution are regulated by socialist economic laws and influenced by the working of the law of value and the law of supply and demand that still exist in the commodity economy of a socialist society. In view of this, the socialist economy is also called a planned economy or, to be more correct, "a planned commodity economy."

In sum, the capitalist economy is a market commodity economy and the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy. Although these two economic systems work similarly in the form of market, they differ in nature. They perform two different functions of two methods of social production and are basically in opposition to each other.



In the first stage of the socialist revolution when a struggle is being conducted to deprive the exploitative classes (capitalist, feudal, and other classes) of their ownership of the means of production, production is carried out with the main driving force being the revolutionary spirit of the masses combined with control of the economy achieved by centralized guidance through administrative measures. In this stage, the market still exists but has yet to clearly assert its role.

Today, the ever greater expansion of exchanges on the international market has affected the market in many countries. The dynamic character of the socialist market has become manifest and served as a factor that stimulates production in the socialist economy.

The formulation of the socialist production method has gradually changed the nature of the market in the planned commodity economy. Therefore, it must be stressed that in a planned economy, the market, despite its dynamic character, still remains part of the plan. Through supply and demand, the dynamic character of the market—which is already regulated by the law governing the planned and balanced development of the national economy and influenced by the law of value in the socialist market—serves the fundamental socialist economic laws. The planned economy is controlled not only by legal plan norms, but also by the various policies, incentive measures, and other methods designed to apply market relations in a planned economy. This also helps strengthen socialist production relations and the position of the planned economy.

Thus, in planning work, we may employ the direct planning method together with the system of legal norms, and we may also employ the indirect planning method, that is, planning carried out through the various policies, incentive measures, and economic laws, all of which are part of the planned economy and meet the requirements of socialist economic law. In view of this, we cannot cite the employment of the direct or indirect planning method as grounds to contend that there are economic activities within the plan with legal norms as well as economic activities outside the plan through the market. In short, as market and market relations still exist objectively in the socialist economy and have the effect of stimulating production and distribution, the application of market relations under socialism is a must. This is an issue we must study to be able to apply market relations more correctly and in a principled manner to support the new managerial strategy and management mechanism.

While applying market relations in economic management and planning in our country at present, it is necessary to avoid the two following tendencies.

First there is the tendency to regulate the economy purely through commands, guidance, and control enforced by a system of all too numerous and rigid legal norms together with heavily detailed guidelines and measures that, in some cases, interfere too deeply in the production activities of the basic units.

The use of numerous legal norms and administrative commands ties up economic activities and naturally results in slowing down production. Failure to closely observe the situation of a given place at a given time often results



because basic units, to meet the pressing immediate requirements, are forced to "get around the rule," deviate from the approved plan, and make false reports to the higher echelons. In the end, the legal character of the plan is weakened, and, at times, the plan only exists for form's sake.

Second, there are the tendencies to overrate the law of value, erroneously emphasize the effect of the market, and make light of the plan, especially its legal component. This tendency narrows down and weakens the role of the plan in management and floats production and distribution by the basic units in the "market." In production, legal norms assigned by the higher echelons are neglected and efforts are only made to turn out so-called "extracurricular" products that are needed on the market and bring about greater profits. In distribution and circulation, the discipline concerning the delivery of products to the state is not scrupulously observed and grain is purchased at incentive prices rather than under two-way contracts.

In reality, this tendency allows the spontaneous character of the market to override the plan and the unorganized market to encroach on the organized market, thereby upsetting economic activities.

Both tendencies mentioned above exist at different degrees in economic management and planning work in our country at present.

In recent years we have changed the system of legal norms and applied a number of professional planning methods. However, this change faces difficulties and limitations because the new managerial mechanism has yet to be established and, at the same time, many economic policies and management systems that were adopted decades ago and have become outmoded have not been revised.

In this situation, some sectors, localities, and basic units have not remained inactive, and they have displayed much creativity in adopting the new workstyle. Apart from this, many manifestations of sluggishness and conservatism have not been eliminated, and there are new errors that must be corrected.

The manifestations of the tendency to chase after the market mechanism have partially degraded the economic relations of the economic and state management system.

In some localities, the economic management system, though still maintaining an outward appearance of unity, has been gradually eroded or disrupted from within by negative phenomena, thereby creating a falsehood in the economy that is also invading other spheres of social activities.

On the other hand, there still exist fairly tenacious "conservatism and sluggishness" as displayed in the stubborn upholding of the illogical, the obsolete, and the backward after the situation has changed, as well as in the desire to restore the "old order" of the managerial mechanism that must be eliminated. This has hampered production and, at the same time, has given rise to "getting-around-the rules" reactions, irresponsibility, and indiscipline. Apart from this, new progress and new factors have surfaced in many units and localities. However, it is regrettable that they have yet to

be multiplied, developed into models, and institutionalized because the new managerial mechanism has not yet been established.

This situation is rendering us less effective in directing the economy. The structural dismantling of the old management system has ushered in a new period of managerial changeover in which new progress is mingled with conservatism, sluggishness, negativism, and new errors as the structure of the new management system has not yet been perfectly set up.

The experience gained by fraternal socialist countries and realities in our country show that it is no simple task to establish a system of economic management and planning suitable to the special characteristics of each country. Time and patience are needed to switch from an old mechanism for economic management to a new one. Therefore, the current period can be called a changeover period or an embryonic period in which we are seeking ways to establish a new mechanism for economic management—one that employs planning as the focal point and democratic centralism as the principle, closely links planning with economic accounting and socialist business methods, firmly grasps use-value, and, at the same time, respects value and the law of value.

## II. Consolidate and Develop the Central Role of Planning in the Managerial Mechanism and Strengthen Market Management

What must be done to satisfactorily employ market relations in economic management and planning in our country's current conditions? There are two tasks that must be carried out simultaneously: The first is to consolidate and develop the central role of planning in the managerial mechanism, and the second is to strengthen market management. These two tasks can only be carried out in a satisfactory and steady manner on the basis of constantly strengthening socialist production relations. In our country's situation, we must satisfactorily carry out socialist transformation and strengthen the socialist economic components in the process of constantly changing the five economic components in the direction of expanding the state-run economic sector and the socialist collective economic sector and allowing a necessary private economic component to remain.

The transformation and changing of the nature of the market and the strengthening of market management along the lines of expanding socialist trade as well as banking and financial activities are aimed at controlling the sources of goods and money, eliminating the influence of the bourgeoisie and private traders in the market, and placing the market within the planned economy.

These two tasks are closely related and interactive. Consolidating the central role of planning is meant to create a firm basis for applying market relations, and, conversely, strengthening market management is meant to expand the scope and influence of the socialist market, satisfactorily control the unorganized market (the "free" market), and create conditions for applying market relations in the right direction and with high efficiency.

To consolidate and develop the central role of planning it is necessary to entirely renovate planning work. Regarding this, the documents of the 5th

Party Congress set forth the general orientation that "it is necessary to make sure that all managerial echelons at the central, local, and grassroots levels truly master the plans by making real efforts to formulate, balance, defend, and implement their plans, and that plans must be built from the grassroots level and thoroughly conform with the principles of economic accounting and socialist business."

The congress documents also pointed out: "Each planning level must bring into full play its initiative, versatility, and sharpness as well as the entrepreneurial spirit as Lenin put it; overcome the habit of dependence and inactivity; and extricate itself from the self-supplied and self-sufficiency workstyle that is limited to a small scope. We must expand the market at home and abroad and, on this basis, exploit the capability and develop the strongpoints of every level, accelerate the capital investment cycle, and expand the division of labor, specialization, and cooperativization so as to stimulate the development of production."

This is a very basic guideline set forth by the congress for applying even more satisfactorily market relations in planning work.

Thus, a pressing task at present is to divide the responsibilities in economic management. Responsibilities must be clearly assigned within the system that directs the national economy in order to promote the right to mastery, enhance the initiative and the sense of responsibility of the localities and basic units, and, at the same time, meet the requirement for centralized management by the central level. It is necessary to revise economic policies and incentives, especially prices, wages, money, and so forth, and to adopt a clearcut financial line on the front of distribution and circulation.

Efforts must continue to be made to renovate planning work to establish a new planning mechanism suitable to the new managerial mechanism.

We assert that the new planning mechanism that replaces the old bureaucratic and subsidy-based planning mechanism must respect the principle of centralism while expanding democracy, pay attention to the observance of legal norms as well as to the use of economic incentives, develop the initiative and creativity of localities and basic units while setting stringent requirements for discipline and responsibility, constantly strengthen the socialist economic components while guiding private and family economic establishments to operate in accordance with the state plan, and direct the various sectors, echelons, and establishments to take the initiative in formulating their plans by balancing the materials obtained from "the four sources of supplies." The state must try its best to provide materials for production by fully exploiting and making use of local sources of raw material through cooperation and coordination among the various sectors, localities, and establishments, as well as by relying on export and import.

In planning work, it is necessary to appropriately define the scope for direct planning and firmly grasp the light of key products and the system of legal norms in force. Managerial rules must insure that the various sectors, localities, and basic units can develop their initiatives satisfactorily and that the central government can control the key aspects of the economy.

At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen indirect planning measures in order to develop the indirect impact satisfactorily for stimulating production and construction at the grassroots level through the use of market relations both at home and abroad.

Market relations must be broadly applied in the various sectors, echelons, and units as well as in the relations concerning the production and exchange of products and services, with the principle of "reciprocal obligation" being observed by the parties concerned. This is meant to replace the relations of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management with market relations. Thus, awards and material incentives will be given if good quality products are turned out at low costs and delivered on schedule.

Concerning basic units of the collective economic sector such as agricultural cooperatives, the state will assign legal norms for the sale of agricultural products on the basis of the amount of state materials and commodities supplied under two-way economic contracts. Reality has testified that two-way economic contracts play a very important role in planning work.

In formulating plans, it is necessary to closely link the material plan with the value plan. The material plan is the core that reflects the capability for meeting demands on the market, and the value plan serves to assess the effectiveness of planning and to compare the results achieved against the expenses that are incurred.

The application of market relations here is designed to grasp even more firmly the demands of society (including both the demands for production and the demands for consumption), gear production firmly to consumption, and insure a balance between production and consumption. A system of incentives must be invented to constantly improve product quality through the market, especially the quality of export commodities.

It is necessary to use the plan as a foundation and follow its orientation in order to apply market relations in economic management and planning even more satisfactorily. All policies and incentives must be revised and constantly supplemented to meet the new situation; insure the correct combination of the three economic interests; enhance the actual effectiveness of the state plan; guarantee both the central government's centralized leadership and the broadening of the right of economic establishments, localities, and the various sectors to take initiatives in production and business; and, together with planning and other components of the economic management system, form a management strategy suitable to the situation and characteristics of our country.

The application of market relations in the first stage of the transition period must be inevitably linked with market management in order to gradually establish and consolidate the role of the socialist market and develop the leading role of the organized market; this is truly a factor that supplements planning in the process of social reproduction.

This is currently a pressing issue because in our country at present, the market is the main battleground of the class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. Continuing to carry out socialist transformation and struggling to control the market constitutes one of the urgent measures that must be taken to establish a new socialist order on the front of distribution and circulation, contribute to stepping up production, stabilize the people's life, and bring about a turn for the better in the socio-economic situation.

Our country's market at present has the following noteworthy characteristics:

--All commercial products turned out by the five economic components in the south and the three economic components in the north are exchanged on the market. In reality, there is smooth circulation among these economic components throughout the country. However, with its monopolistic control over foreign trade and some key marketable agricultural products, the state directs market relations at home and abroad. The state is now in control of key economic sectors, important economic establishments, and strategic materials, and it is capable of controlling an important amount of commodities with which to control and influence the domestic market.

--Supply and demand are in serious imbalance, and social production still cannot meet the essential demands of the people's life, of the undertaking to build the material-technical bases of socialism, and of the effort to consolidate national defense.

--Prices are fluctuating, and money is not balanced against commodities.

--The organized market has not yet been strengthened, and the unorganized market is claiming a fairly large percentage of transactions while being under the influence of the bourgeoisie and private traders.

--The enemy is taking advantage of our difficulties to sabotage us in the field of production and circulation, especially in both the domestic and foreign market.

Therefore, right in the process of formulating plans, attention must be given to market management with a view to applying market relations in economic management and planning to insure the consolidation and development of the organized market and to overcome the tendency to curtail the development of socialist trade and allow private trade to "flourish" in an unorganized manner in a bid to stimulate production with the "competition" for profits, which is in reality an overrating of the effectiveness of the market mechanism.

A very important matter at present is that we must fully realize the importance of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the transition period, which can be felt most strongly on the front of transformation combined with construction and production reorganization and on the front of distribution and circulation.

It is necessary to overcome the current state of economic management in which the capitalist and private economic components are allowed to develop without



control by the state-run trade sector, thereby disrupting socio-economic order and weakening the leading role of planning.

In applying market relations in economic management and planning, we must avoid the tendency to revert to the "inflexible and rigid" mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management as well as the tendency to neglect the use of planning as the central link of the economic management system and as the key instrument for combining the development of the planned economy with the application of commodities-money relations and market relations in economic management and planning. It is also necessary to avoid the tendency to overrate the law of value and consider it as the law that regulates or helps regulate the socialist economy, which only promotes the market mechanism and weakens the role of planning.

The front of distribution and circulation is now the breeding ground for erroneous viewpoints and deviant practices that make planning work difficult and render the state incapable of controlling the sources of goods, firmly controlling the flow of money, carrying out distribution according to plan, and controlling the market and prices. In other words, there now exists the right-leaning tendency of slackening the dictatorship of the proletariat in economic management and planning.

The development of the effectiveness of planning in market management first of all must be reflected in the ability of the state, by planning and through the use of other tools, to control production as well as the distribution and circulation of goods and consumption. The state must control the sources of goods and money, satisfactorily control export and import activities while using production as the base, work out plans to develop the key economic sectors, vigorously develop the state-run and socialist collective economies in suitable forms for each locality and each period of time, and correctly utilize other economic components and diversified economic forms such as family economy, private services, garden economy, and so on in order to create an all-round impetus for satisfactorily using manpower, land, and other resources in the process of socialist construction.

The plans formulated by state-run production establishments must insure correct implementation of the system of socialist economic management and closely link production plans with product delivery plans in strict accordance with the state policy.

For the collective, private, and individual economic establishments, the plans must include direct and indirect measures aimed at gradually enabling the state to gain monopoly over grain, marketable agricultural products of high value, and goods destined for export, and to control the products turned out by peasants and handicraftsmen through two-way contracts so as to bring the production and circulation of their goods under the state plan.

Price planning must be regarded as a very important part of the state planning system. Through price planning, we can gradually stabilize prices, oppose the tendency to run after prices on the free market, and prevent the bourgeoisie and private traders from illegal practices of speculation and price manipulation. This task, which has long been neglected in the state plan,

must now be given more attention and carried out with intensified efforts so as to link planning with economic accounting and socialist business methods.

Also by using planning as the primary tool, we must rapidly expand and qualitatively improve the socialist trade system and combine its operation with the activities of other socialist collective organizations such as production collectives, production cooperatives, credit cooperatives, and so forth to form the core force in the struggle to control the market, insure the central role of planning in the economic management system, and apply market relations in a correct manner.

By satisfactorily carrying out the tasks concerning market management--primarily by controlling the sources of goods and money and satisfactorily supervising the expansion of export-import activities--we will be able to care for the life of cadres, workers, state employees, members of the Armed Forces, and the laboring people and to gradually realize the principle of to each according to his work. Planning must have the effect of enhancing the responsibility and broadening the initiative of the various localities and basic units in meeting the diverse demands of the people's life in each locality while insuring that all sources of accumulating capital are mobilized to allow central government to step up the construction of key products in support of industrialization and that all strategic products are reserved for planned distribution by the central government to meet the national demands.

These are the pressing tasks concerning planning that are emphasized in the various resolutions of the party, especially in the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (fifth tenure), and that must be carried out satisfactorily to insure that planning will firmly retain and develop its central role in the management system and to guarantee the success of socialism in the fierce struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in our country in the new stage.

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## SOME PROBLEMS ON FOREST MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 26-33

[Article by Phan Xuan Dot; passages between slantlines italicized as published]

[Text] Forests are our country's extremely precious natural resource and an important component of the environment. They not only supply many kinds of timber and special products essential to production and life but also exert a positive effect on the environment, culture, society, and national defense. It is precisely for this reason that the protection and development of forest resources have always received the utmost attention from our party and state. The communique of the conference held by the Party Central Committee Secretariat on 23 October 1968 to discuss forestry work remarked: /"Our country's forests exercise a major effect on the struggle against natural calamities and enemy aggression and have a bearing on our nation's survival. Lavishly abundant tropical forest resources constitute a lasting and distinctive major source of income for our people. Forestry is an important sector in the socialist economic system."/

The resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses clearly pointed out the direction of forestry development in our country and especially stressed the urgent need to enhance forest management and protection to curb and eventually stop forest destruction. The tree-planting, afforestation, and forest protection movement has undergone satisfactory development over the past years. A number of localities and establishments have initially combined the need to develop production and build the economy with the need to manage and protect forests, rationally exploit and use forest resources, and preserve the ecological balance. Many districts, villages, and cooperatives in the mountain and midland regions have begun to see this strength and the way to exploit it on the basis of satisfactorily carrying out forest management and protection work and rationally exploiting and rebuilding their forest assets. Thanks to this, forest destruction has been curtailed. Some forestry-industrial combines and state forests have renovated their organizational and managerial mechanism to coordinate exploitation with protection and reafforestation and have really exerted a strong impact on the various programs related to forest development by applying measures to reorganize forests, reorganize production, and renovate various policies. The forestry sector, having neglected forest management for several years, has begun to re-



establish control over key links, reorganize its forces, renovate its operational methods, understand more profoundly /the line of relying on the people for forest protection,/ and obtain initial results in implementing the mottos /"the state and the people work together," "the center and the localities work together," "use forests to develop forests,"/ and so forth. Owing to this, generally speaking, forest destruction has been markedly curtailed.

These results and changes, however, have not been enough to halt the destruction of forests which is taking place in many places. The burning of forests to develop upland fields, forest fires, and abusive and illegal exploitation as well as wasteful use of forest products remain rather serious, further reducing the area, amount and quality of the forest resources and directly affecting the capability to supply forest products and protect the environment. Concerning current forest assets, many reliable survey and research documents have shown that /our country's forest resources have decreased to a worrisome level./ The total forest area of the entire country now amounts only to 7.9 million hectares, or approximately 23.9 percent of the natural area. There are only slightly over 2 million hectares of rich and average forest left. Thus, the present average per capita distribution of forests is a mere 0.15 hectare, with a timber reserve of about 10 cubic meters per capita, of which only a very small amount can be exploited. Especially noteworthy is that in many strategically important watershed regions and regions where soil and environmental protection is called for, such as the Tay Bac and Viet Bac regions, the former Zone 4, the Truong Son region, and the eastern and western Nam Bo regions, the forests have been shrinking. The forest ratio has now been reduced to only 6 percent in the Tay Bac region and 15.6 percent in the lowlands. During the past 6 years (1976-82), the forests have shrunk at an even higher rate than in previous years. In the two provinces of Nghe Tinh and Binh Tri Thien alone, the forested area has decreased by over 500,000 hectares while a reduction of over 300,000 hectares has been recorded in Dong Nai, Song Be and Tay Ninh Provinces. The reduction in forest resources has not only directly affected the capability to exploit and supply forest products to the state and to meet the imperative needs of the people in daily life, but has also caused far-reaching changes in the soil, the water sources, the environment, and the microclimate. The area of sterile land and barren hills has increased notably. At present, there are more than 13 million hectares, including over 7 million hectares of forestry land and over 6 million hectares of barren hills, for which no use has been found. Many areas in the mountain and midland regions have seriously degraded as a consequence of forest destruction, forest fires, extensive farming, unscrupulous exploitation of the soil fertility, and the failure to practice intensive cultivation and protect the soil.

This reduction in natural resources is due to both objective and subjective causes.

The overriding and most prominent objective cause has been the serious imbalance between the demands made by production and social life upon the forests and the latter's limited capability to satisfy them. This state of affairs stems from the socio-economic situation of a country which has a generally undeveloped economy, which has recently emerged from over 30 years

of war, and which, in order to satisfy the demands of production, to rebuild the country, to heal the war wounds, and to meet the people's daily needs for forest products, must urgently exploit its forests for forest products and clear forest to pen more land for the planting of grain and industrial crops, the development of livestock raising, fishery, and so forth. On the other hand, the urgent need of society for firewood and the highlanders' practice of burning forests to build upland fields for food production still constitute a tremendous pressure that directly leads to forest destruction, thereby rapidly reducing the area of various kinds of forests in our country.

Subjectively, the most important cause has been that, for a fairly long time, the forestry sector has neglected forest management, failing to basically and comprehensively combine forest protection with forest management and to link managerial and protection responsibilities with production and business in each area. The responsibilities for forest management and protection have not yet been divided between the forestry sector and various levels to promote and develop the authority and responsibility of each locality and unit for each area of forests and forested land. As a result, in some places there still are forests with no one to take care of their management. In forest management and protection, some concrete tasks have been achieved, such as the development of organizations, the building of forces, the planning of forest reserves, the zoning of watershed forests, and so forth. However, due to a failure to thoroughly understand and correctly apply the policy of relying on the people and developing collective mastery and the aggregate strength of all forces and various sectors, especially the organized forces of the local masses under the direct leadership of the local party committee echelons, the key role and effectiveness of the apparatus specially in charge of forest management and protection have not yet been brought into full play. Moreover, in its operational methods, the forestry sector has still laid emphasis on "forest inspection" work and has concentrated much effort on controlling the circulation of forest products far from the forests while failing to pay due attention to enhancing forest management and protection work at the forestry sites themselves. In recent years, the state has adopted a policy of turning over forested land and forests to districts for management and cooperatives for exploitation. However, due to unsatisfactory organization and guidance, the effectiveness of this policy has not yet been brought into play. Generally speaking, the material bases in support of forest protection, forest fire prevention and control, pest and disease prevention and control, and forest fire warning and detection have remained deficient. On the other hand, a number of localities and units, due to their failure to correctly understand the role and significance of forests in their organic relations with economic development and environmental protection, have made negative decisions leading to forest destruction, such as their decisions to open new land by destroying forests, to carry out abusive forest exploitation, and to make arbitrary use of timber. Besides, in many places, the people's sense of collective mastery regarding forest protection and the implementation of various policies and laws on forests has not yet been enhanced. The habits of destroying forests and wasting forest products are fairly rampant, especially in many areas in the mountain and midland regions.

Aside from these causes, we do not rule out other causes such as natural calamities and enemy aggression which have also caused heavy losses of our

country's forests. (In the southern provinces alone, during the war the U.S. imperialists used bombs, shells, and toxic chemicals to obliterate more than 2 million hectares of valuable forests).

As stated above, the situation and consequences of forest destruction are attributable to many subjective causes concerning perception, organization, management, and guidance over policy implementation. However, there have also been objective causes stemming from the actual socio-economic situation. Therefore, to satisfactorily manage and protect forests, we should resolve a host of socio-economic problems instead of merely adopting administrative and legal measures, although they are extremely important. Forest protection will continue to be unsatisfactory as long as we do not correctly resolve the relations between the exploitation and use of forests and forested land and the protection and development of forest resources by making effective use of our general economic potentials and paying attention to the general ecological effects. To put it another way, we must gear our efforts to satisfying the increasing need of society for forest products and the need for food of the people in mountain regions toward exploiting and using forests and forested land in the most effective manner through the application of the most rational forms and measures possible.

The documents of the 5th Party Congress have pointed out an important direction to follow in exploiting the latent potentials of forests and, at the same time, putting an end to forest destruction: "The mountainous provinces and districts must satisfactorily exploit their strongpoints, achieve their rise from agriculture and forestry, use their land by combining agriculture with forestry, correctly organize specialized production along with general business operations, do away with economic self-sufficiency, expand economic relations between the highlands and the lowlands, and boost the export-import trade, thereby satisfactorily meeting the local people's demands for food and clothing and their other daily needs... The observance of this development guideline will help limit and eventually put an end to forest destruction and will create conditions for really achieving settled farming and settled life."(1)

Thus, in order to restrict and eventually stop the destruction of forests, we must put our forest protection work within the scope of the overall socio-economic development of the whole country, first of all in the mountain and midland regions. We must consider forest management and protection within the strategic orientation of socio-economic development, whose important contents are: to develop the forestry-agriculture-industrial economy comprehensively; to exploit the strength of the forests while exploiting the strength of industry, livestock raising, and of forest and agricultural product processing, and developing industry, small industry, and handicrafts; to abolish the self-sufficiency tendency; and to produce large quantities of goods that can be exchanged with the lowland regions and exported. In the mountain and midland regions, food production occupies an important position, serving as a springboard for the eventual exploitation of the strength of forests, industrial crops, and livestock raising. Food production, however, should not be carried out in any forms and at any cost, such as the practice of destroying forests for food production in nomadic and extensive farming. Chairman of the Council of State Truong Chinh has pointed out the harm done by

this practice as follows: "Everyone knows that /it is foolish/ to burn 1 hectare of forest and lose hundreds of cubic meters of timber and large quantities of other forest products in order to gain about 1 metric ton of paddy."(2)

In forestry, in order to satisfactorily protect forest assets, we must pay attention to formulating plans for comprehensive and uniform development of all factors, including tree planting, maintenance, reafforestation, exploitation, processing, and general business operations. We must use short-term operations to support long-term ones, enabling each union of enterprises, state forest and forestry economic unit to achieve comprehensive and balanced development. We must insure the stability of territory, objectives, structure, and organizational forms; make investments for intensive farming; and conduct business with good results. We must resolutely exploit forests according to regulatory plans and on the basis of reafforestation, thereby insuring that the forest asset is protected and developed. To make sure that this will be done, aside from applying measures to enhance forest management and protection, forestry production units must also pay attention to combining the need to develop forestry with the need to achieve socio-economic development in their localities. They must bring into full play their key role as state-run forestry economic units in the local economy, the collective economy, and the family economy. They must make positive and active contributions to the efforts of the party committee echelons and people's committees in reorganizing the life of the people, especially those who still practice nomadism and burn forests to develop upland fields, and shifting them to a new mode of production on the basis of protecting, exploiting, and rebuilding the forests and other business sectors.

Widely applying the combined agricultural-forestry production formula and simultaneously developing crop planting, livestock raising, water conservancy, hydroelectric power, aquatic products, national defense...in close coordination with forest protection and development in the localities, especially in the mountain regions, is an important direction designed to enable all sectors to join their efforts in comprehensively exploiting the latent economic potentials and environmental-protection properties of the forests. Experience has shown that only when these production activities are closely linked with forest protection and development can the forests be satisfactorily protected, the environment remain undisturbed, and the production work of the sectors concerned by developing favorably and with high economic efficiency. If these production activities are separated from or set in opposition to forest protection and development and if attention is only paid to parochial and immediate interests, thus leading to abusive exploitation or destruction of the forests, then the environment will react violently, causing unfathomable lasting consequences and damage. The lesson to be derived from the success of the Vien Son Cooperative in Van Yen District, Hoang Lien Son Province, is precisely its ability to satisfactorily combine agriculture with forestry. On the one hand, the cooperative has made every effort to carry out intensive farming on wet land and to fully exploit land by interplanting grain crops in forested areas, thus creating new conditions for satisfying the needs for food. On the other hand, it has put to good account its strength in forestry; especially, it has successfully built up a forestry asset by planting more than 600 hectares of cinnamon that has

high export value. This is a firm basis for ceaselessly increasing income and improving living conditions. The example of combining the settlement of nomads with forest protection in Chu Pong Village, Dac Lac Province, is a vivid reality typifying the ascending trend of the people of E-de nationality in the Central Highlands. From a nomadic life requiring the destruction of forests to build upland fields, the people in Chu Pong have shifted to a settled life and settled farming, growing rice on irrigated fields, cultivating orchards, planting industrial crops, and carrying out afforestation by combining agriculture with forestry, thereby curtailing forest destruction and taking the first step toward making effective use of their forest resources and exploiting other favorable conditions in their locality.

To meet the demands for timber, firewood and other forest products for production and social consumption, we must /exploit and use the present natural forest asset most economically while accelerating the pace of tree-planting and afforestation./ We must improve the poor and exhausted forests and reafforest millions of hectares of uncultivated land, barren hills and mountains, sandbars, and marshes so as to quickly increase our forest assets, /expeditiously boost the capability of each locality to satisfy its own needs for forest products,/ and harvest large amounts of forest products for export and to satisfy the state's principal demands. This is the most important strategic direction aimed at reducing pressure on the forests and creating favorable conditions for the forest asset to develop, thereby insuring achievement of the major and long-term objectives of industrialization. To satisfy the people's demands for fuel at a time when other sources of energy are still lacking, we should widely plant fast growing trees to create sources of biomass energy. In the task of planting trees to meet the local demands for timber and firewood, Ly Nhan District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, has obtained many good results and offered a great deal of precious experience in making the fullest use of land in the delta, where there is little land but a large population.

As pointed out above, in order to put an end to forest destruction we must correctly satisfy the demands of all society for forest products and satisfactorily care for the livelihood of millions of people of various nationalities living near the forests on the basis of comprehensively developing the combined agricultural-forestry economy and effectively using the resources, labor, and land of each area. This is a difficult and long-term task requiring the simultaneous tackling of many problems related to politics, economy, technology, social welfare, national defense and so forth.

In the immediate future, we should satisfactorily apply the following urgent measures to effectively manage and protect the forest asset:

1. We must urgently acquire a relatively accurate and adequate knowledge of the quantity and quality of our forests so as to support the reorganization of agricultural and forestry production nationwide and in each province, district, village, and cooperative and to coordinate the building, management, and protection of forests through the effective use of the forest, land, and labor resources. On the basis of the districts' master plans for socio-economic development and for the development of a forestry-agricultural-



industrial (or forestry-agricultural-fishery) economic structure, we must formulate plans for the reorganization of forests and land, placing forests under the management of the districts and turning over forests and forested land to state-run economic units, collectives, army units, and families for protection and cultivation in accordance with the general plan and the real managerial and business capability of each unit. We must readjust the size, area, and limits of forests to guarantee a rational distribution among different production units and insure connection between areas and plots, thereby facilitating management and protection work. We must learn from the experience derived from earlier allocations of forests and land to improve the distribution methods. We must inventory and assess the value of our forest assets and pay special attention to reorganizing production and insuring that /forests are allocated for protection and land is distributed for afforestation./ Forests and land, however, should not be turned over to those units, collectives, and families incapable of protection and afforestation work. If the allocation has been made but protection and afforestation have proven unsatisfactory, the forests and land concerned must be checked and repossessed and appropriate action taken in accordance with established policies and the law.

2. We must reorganize forests to suit the management, protection, and business requirements. We must classify forests as /forest reserves, environmental-protection forests, and economic forests/ according to the targets and purposes of management, protection, and business work. At the same time, we must divide forests and forested land into sections, subsections, plots, and lots for effective management and protection. Concerning /the forest reserves/ full-time managerial apparatuses and forces must be organized and special managerial and protection procedures adopted to take care of them. Concerning /the environmental-protection forests, they must be turned over to each district, village, and cooperative for organization, management and protection. Concerning the economic forests, those enterprise unions, forestry sites, cooperatives, and units authorized to exploit them must assume the responsibility for their protection. We must put an end to the state of leaving forests without management or the lack of specifically defined management responsibilities. We must correctly apply the principle that for each plot of land and each forests, there must be only one management organ or unit which is responsible to the state for afforestation and for forest protection and exploitation.

The apparatuses specially in charge of forest management and protection must be uniformly reorganized in the entire forestry sector on three levels--ministerial, provincial, and district--thereby linking forest management and protection with the building of forest assets and the development of forestry in each territorial area. Especially, we must attach importance to consolidating and strengthening the district-level forestry apparatuses. The forestry section is a specialized organ that assists the district level in satisfactorily managing state administrative work in forestry and organizing and guiding forestry production and business in the districts. According to the motto of relying on the people to manage and protect forests, organize forest-protection assault forces in important areas of forest resources, vigorously develop popular teams and units for on-the-spot forest protection, and make the fullest use of the means and equipment currently available in

each locality, each locality must devise a system to expeditiously mobilize all on-the-spot forces to actively and promptly fight and stamp out forest fires and epidemic forest-destruction by harmful insects. Forests are the state's property and owned by the entire people but distributed in each specific area. For this reason, /the administrations in the localities where forests are located are responsible to the state for carefully organizing the management and protection of the forest resources in their localities./ As such, they are empowered to control and supervise the implementation of laws and procedures related to forest protection in all state-operated units, collectives, and army units and among the people. Within the limits of their authority, they should apply measures to prevent, curtail, and deal with acts causing losses to forests or suggest to the higher authorities to deal with these acts. Only in this way can forest resources be strictly managed and protected.

3. We must strengthen the material and technical base of forest management and protection work, especially in areas of concentrated forest resources and fire-prone key areas such as forest reserves, environmental-protection forests, headwater forests, the pine forests in Lam Dong and Quang Ninh, the khop forests in the Central Highlands, the cajuput forests in Kien Giang, Minh Hai and so forth. In these areas, we should build forest-protection, fire-prevention and fire-control projects such as fire breaks, canals, and ditches and fire-prevention and pest-control green belts. We should organize and procure the technical equipment for forest-fire and pest detection and warning so as to take timely corrective measures. Experience has shown that if we do not attach importance to making adequate investments in forest protection and forest-fire control, then our afforestation efforts will not only fail to bear fruit but also cause serious waste.

4. We must satisfactorily apply and implement various economic-level policies to encourage all units and localities and the entire people to actively protect the forests, carry out afforestation, and use forest products sparingly. We must widely apply the system of contracting afforestation and forest-protection work to each peasant, worker, and civil servant family so as to effectively protect each plot of land and each forest. The experience of many cooperatives in Doan Hung, Thanh Son, and Tam Dao Districts (Vinh Phu Province) has shown that forests are satisfactorily protected, forest products increase, and land is intensively cultivated with growing efficiency when production is reorganized by combining agriculture with forestry and developing various sectors and trades while a system is adopted to contract out specific forest-protection and afforestation jobs and to harmoniously link the interests of the state and the collective with the legitimate interests of the individual laborer. We should promptly amend and perfect various policies to provide even greater incentives for the protection and development of our forest assets. Especially, we should amend and perfect the grain policy; the policy of collecting agricultural tax in forest products according to the characteristics and strengths of the mountain regions; the policy of forest product prices; the policy of transferring a portion of the profits generated by forestry business and of the forest-maintenance funds to the localities' budget, which is aimed at linking the responsibility of the localities having forests with their interests; and even the policy of granting material rewards to the managerial apparatus of those districts and villages credited with good



management and protection of forest assets. We should further enhance the management of forest supplies, fully enforce discipline in delivery, and insure that supplies are provided to the right consumers and used for the right purposes. We must limit and eventually do away with the "free" market of forest products and establish a new order in the exploitation, processing, distribution, and circulation of timber and other forest products.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong once said that /"Developing forestry is a major undertaking of the entire people."(3) To protect the forests and develop forestry, first of all we must step up broad and far-reaching propaganda work among the people of all strata and from the party to the masses to enable all people to clearly realize the role of forests and the usefulness of forest protection and afforestation to the economy, national defense, and environment. On this basis, we should enhance the masses' sense of responsibility in implementing the various policies and laws concerning forest management and protection and gradually turn forest protection and afforestation into a movement, a way of life, and a social habit among the people of all strata, from the highlands to the lowlands.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Documents of the 5th Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 65.
2. Truong Chinh: "Take the People of Various Nationalities in Dac Lac Directly to Socialism," TAP CHI CONG SAN, issue No 8, 1983.
3. Article published in TAP CHI CONG SAN, issue No 2, 1983.

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## EDUCATING THE PEOPLE IN THE LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 34-38

[Article by Professor Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] Our revolutionary state is now 38 years old. Our system of revolutionary law has gradually been formed and increasingly developed through the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that was ratified in December, 1980 (the third Constitution since the 1945 August Revolution), through numerous laws and acts and thousands of other legal documents and, recently, through the General Section of the Code of Criminal Law, which was given preliminary approval by the National Assembly on 30 June 1983.

However, one situation deserving of concern--as the 5th Congress of the Party observed--is that "some laws and regulations are not being strictly enforced and some are not even being enforced at all."

One of the reasons for this situation is that our effort to educate the people in the law is still weak.

Thus, how should we view this problem and what must be done to advance this effort and help to complete the large tasks we face in the new stage of the revolution?

We are in the initial stage of the period of transition. To provide an effective education in the law, it is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with the characteristics of this period in our country and their impact upon man's sense of law.

Vietnam, a former colony and semi-feudal country, is advancing from an economy in which small-scale production is universal directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. As a result of living in a colonial, semi-feudal country and being ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by colonialist and feudal law, our people developed a very deep hostility toward the law and their thinking was always the thinking of resisting the law. This is easily understood. Because, under the old regime, the law was synonymous with suppression, with prison and the guillotine. Today, political power is in the hands of the people and the state is a state of, by and for the people.

Laws are promulgated by this state with the participation and contributions of the people. The law has no purposes other than protecting the socialist system, protecting the interests of the people and fighting oppression and exploitation. The evolution from an attitude of hostility, of opposition to the law to an attitude of considering the law to be one's own, of voluntarily complying with the law and struggling against violations of the law requires time, requires a patient educational effort.

As people who have been small-scale producers since antiquity—primarily small-scale farmers—who are characterized by a lack of cohesion, like "the potatoes in a bag of potatoes," to borrow the imagery of Marx, and subscribing to the old thinking that "the laws of the king are subordinate to the regulations of the village," the citizens of Vietnam lived for many centuries with an attitude of indifference and complacency concerning the laws of the central state. Progressing from this attitude to an attitude of concern for the law, to a proper consciousness regarding the law is not a simple matter.

Not experiencing the stage of capitalist development means that there is no concept of the strict discipline of a system of large-scale, modern production, that we have yet to enjoy the achievements of science and technology and that we have yet to recognize the state and the law as the political-legal superstructure, consequently, we do not see the urgent need to provide management by means of the law and are unaccustomed to the legal order of a highly organized society.

The more than 30 years of continuous war had an impact in two directions: on the one hand, everyone possessed the consciousness of strictly complying with orders because of the needs of the war; on the other hand, no one had the habit of calculating economic returns, things were done that went beyond the scope of every regulation of the state and the management practices of war time were brought into the economic and social activities of peace time.

At present, "our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide ranging war of sabotage being conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a situation in which the enemy could unleash a large-scale war of aggression." (1) This situation can also lead us to the point of having little regard for the law.

Therefore, to provide an effective education in the law, it is very necessary for us to be fully aware of the characteristics described above.

On the one hand, we must realize the importance, the specifics and the very high requirements of the law in the initial stage of the period of transition and consider the law to be an effective, indispensable tool in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. If we hope to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist fatherland without realizing the need for or the large role played by the law during this period, we will, as Lenin said, fall into "utopianism."

On the other hand, we must deeply analyze the lingering remnants of the old legal thinking among the people so that corrective measures can be taken.

These remnants are not like those in other countries. We must gain a clear understanding of the attitude of citizens toward the law so that effective educational plans can be adopted.

The law is compulsory by nature. However, in order for the law to become a part of life, it is first necessary to persuade, that is, to educate. Lenin said: "We must first attempt to persuade before making compliance compulsory. Regardless of what else we might do, we must only make compliance compulsory after we have attempted persuasion."(2)

More than 20 years ago, the resolution of the 3rd Congress of our party stated:

"The state is responsible for guaranteeing each right of the people, constantly broadening the practice of democracy, correctly enforcing the Constitution and the laws that have been promulgated, building the socialist system of law, teaching everyone to respect the law and developing the spirit of ownership and raising the political and cultural levels of the people."(3)

The 8th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee (held in September, 1980) established the following as the foremost task to be completed following the ratification of the new Constitution:

"1. Conduct a widespread propaganda and educational effort concerning the Constitution and the law among cadres and the people.

..Regularly disseminate information on and explain the law to the people so that everyone clearly understands the rights and obligations of the citizen and fully complies with the Constitution and the law.

Incorporate the study of the Constitution and the current laws of our state in the curricula of the colleges, vocational middle schools and the schools of the party and mass organizations. Revise and supplement the citizen education program at general schools to be consistent with the spirit and content of the new Constitution."(4)

Recently, the 5th Congress of the Party (February, 1982) pointed out:

"The various party committee echelons, the agencies of the state and the mass organizations must routinely disseminate information on and explain the law to the various strata of the people, incorporate education in the law in the curricula of all schools and develop the consciousness of living under the law and respecting the law."(5)

Defining the tasks of the party committee echelons, of cadres and party members, the congress stressed:

"The various party committee echelons and all cadres and party members must set examples in complying with the Constitution and the law(underlined by author--N.N.M.) and take the lead in the effort to strengthen the socialist system of law. The organizations of the party are prohibited from taking it upon themselves to promulgate regulations that are contrary to the law."(6)

As a result of complying with the resolutions of the party, the agencies of the state have begun to bring about changes: all levels are now more concerned with providing an education in the law. The press on the central as well as the local levels has published many articles on the law, articles criticizing violations of the law, satirical cartoons and letters from readers inquiring about violations of the law. On the radio and television, there are such programs as "Replies to Listeners' Letters Concerning the Law," "Talk on the Law," "The People's Opinion," etc. In the schools of the state, the party and the trade union, much more attention is being given to teaching students about the law. The law faculty of Hanoi University has been enlarged and established as a separate college, the College of Law.

However, there is still much to be done with regard to providing an education in the law: we must establish law education programs that consist of specific subject matter and printed lessons that are widely distributed to all schools and levels; make regular use of the mass media in the effort to provide an education in the law; publish popular books to propagandize and disseminate the law among the people; and use many other interesting forms of communication to bring the law to all strata of the people and, in this way, make the law part of everyday life.

Teaching about the law is ideological work, is a specialized field; therefore, it must be closely led by the party and actively supported by the elected agencies and the agencies specializing in the law (judicial agencies, public security agencies, the courts, organs of control and so forth). This work must be performed in a systematic and thoroughly prepared manner involving the use of materials, plans and necessary equipment.

However, providing an education in the law is also work of a mass nature, work related to each and every person in society. Therefore, it is the task of all state agencies and mass organizations on all levels and within all sectors. Speaking from the point of view of the party, this work is an important part of its ideological work. Therefore, only with constant leadership, inspection and supervision by the party from the central to the basic level is it possible for the effort to provide an education in the law to be carried out in a routine and correct manner, in a manner consistent with the political task of each period.

Only with the leadership of the party and the coordination of each sector and mass organization is it possible to achieve rapid results. In many socialist countries, they have established a council consisting of all concerned parties, the agencies that specialize in the law, the press, the mass media, publishing agencies and representatives of the mass organizations, which is under the management of the judicial agency and under the leadership of the party committee echelon. These councils are established on the central and provincial levels. They adopt programs and plans, determine the subject matter to be taught during each phase, determine which subjects are of vital importance and assign responsibilities to each type agency. In years past, legal circles in the Soviet Union were given the responsibility of "wiping out ignorance of the law" (the words used by the Soviet Union).

Based on the experience of Soviet Russia, the methods employed in this effort must be very concrete and detailed. In March, 1919, the Congress of the Russian Communist Party(b), which met to adopt the Platform of the Party and define the tasks of the party throughout the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, also decided to use persons who were literate and organize periodic reading sessions at schools, at the meeting halls of the soviets, at reading rooms in the countryside and so forth to read decrees and decisions of the state and explain the law in a manner that everyone could easily understand. In order to gain widespread participation in these reading sessions, they were accompanied by film and slide presentations, musical programs and theatrical performances.

As regards propaganda media, the mass media play a large role in this effort. The widespread wired-radio, television and press networks that we have today make it even easier to provide an education in the law. The resolution of the recent 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (June, 1983) reads: we must "improve our work in the mass media with a view toward promptly providing cadres and the masses with correct knowledge of the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state."(7)

Normally, the task of the courts, as defined by the Constitution, is to conduct trials (Article 128 of our Constitution). However, it is through their trial work that the courts can make a very effective contribution to providing an education in the law. Our party has adopted the policy of "being determined to prosecute under the law those persons who use their authority to do things that are wrong, thereby causing serious losses to the state and the people and adversely affecting the confidence that the masses have in the party."(8) By doing this, the courts will have a strong impact upon the effort to provide an education in the law. Because, the purpose of punishing violators of the law is also to deter those who have contempt for the law and teach everyone to respect the law.

Therein lies the difference between teaching about the law and teaching about ethics.

In its assessment of the mass media, the 5th Congress of the Party cited the efforts that the various sectors have made and the achievements that they have recorded. "However, both the masses and the revolution demand that all the mass media be further improved in terms of their ideological nature, their quality and their effectiveness. At present, the content of the press is poor, the volume of information provided is small, the format of the press is uninteresting and the press is not highly persuasive or educational in nature. Wired radio programs never attract listeners."(9)

This is an experience and, at the same time, a valuable lesson.

If we are to educate the people in the law, it is even more necessary that we heighten the ideological nature, the quality, the effectiveness and the attraction of the mass media.

Today, providing an education in the law is considered a science. It is a science that has its own base in theory and its own methods. And, legal science, in general, has the task of promoting the research of this theory.



Educating the people in the law demands that we have a firm knowledge of legal science and that we know how to coordinate it with psychology, sociology, the science of education and so forth.

Educating the people in the law does not simply involve disseminating legal codes to the people so that everyone understands and complies with them, rather, it is also necessary to examine the impact of the law upon life so that we can discover and propose to the responsible agencies measures for improving the education being provided in the law so that it yields better results; at the same time, we can discover and propose ways to draft laws better.

The education provided in the law must be closely linked to the enforcement of the law and to the drafting of laws.

As regards the methods employed in this work, educating the people in the law requires that we coordinate the use of communicative methods and methods involving direct observation; coordinate the use of sound with the use of images and data; coordinate abstract analysis with factual presentations, etc. It is also necessary to closely observe changes in the level of sophistication of the masses, changes in the sense of compliance and the positive or negative reactions to the regulations of the state in order to make appropriate proposals that will bring the law closely in line with the requirements of life.

As socialist society develops, the system of law needed to regulate social relations develops and becomes increasingly diverse. For this reason, the work of providing an education in the law becomes increasingly broad in content. It has truly become an indispensable science to society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Volume 1, p 42.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 65.
3. The Proceedings of the 3rd Congress, Volume 1, p 189.
4. Resolution 8 of the 4th Party Central Committee.
5. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Volume 1, p 114.
6. Ibid., p 117.
7. Resolution of the 4th Party Central Committee, p 30.
8. Ibid., p 26.
9. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Volume 1, pp 102-103.

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## SOME PROBLEMS FACING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AT THIS TIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 39-46

[Article by Vu Khieu]

[Text] Part I

Since its founding, our party has attached importance to the role played by ideology and given its attention to using the tools and media available on the ideological front to teach and struggle for the victory of socialist ideology in our country.

Under the leadership of the party, the social sciences have made noteworthy contributions on the ideological front in recent years. Today, our entire country is experiencing the greatest turning point that has ever occurred in our history. It is the process of advancing our country from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is the period of building an entirely new socio-economic structure and carrying out socialist construction in a manner closely linked to defending the socialist fatherland. Profound changes are occurring in every field of life within our country, from production forces to production relations, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, from the lifestyle of all society to the qualities of each person. However, to bring about these profound changes, we must wage a sharp, complex and fierce struggle between ourselves and the enemy and between socialism and capitalism, must win victory for socialism in each field of social life.

Under these circumstances, the social sciences, as an important weapon of the party on the ideological front, must clearly define their responsibility with regard to helping to provide and shed light on the theoretical and scientific bases of the lines and policies of the party, analyzing and evaluating the situation in an objective and correct manner, struggling against bourgeois and other non-proletarian points of view and resolving questions concerning awareness and ideology as well as new problems that arise in life in order to heighten the political awareness and deepen the knowledge of all the people in a manner that is based in science.

For people who have reached maturity, such as our people and even our youths, the voice of reason, of science is considered one of the most effective weapons on our ideological front today. It is by means of this voice that the social sciences fulfill their ideological functions.

The ideological functions of the social sciences fall into the three categories of promoting understanding, voicing criticism and organizing.

As regards promoting understanding, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, the social sciences place each thought and action of man on a scientific basis. They bring to the people a correct and uniform understanding of our world view and philosophy of life; methods of thinking and methods of viewing and evaluating the complex developments that occur in social life; the course along which the party is leading our people; the society that all our people are working to build; the cultural and spiritual values of our nation and the times; and the future of our people and mankind.

As regards criticism, the social sciences are an effective weapon in the sharp and protracted struggle between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology, the struggle to win the heart and mind of man. They establish and strengthen socialist ideology, thwart and combat the infiltration of all backward, reactionary thinking and abolish each remnant of the ideology and culture of the old society among the various strata of the people. They teach everyone to display greater revolutionary vigilance in the face of the attack and sabotage directed by the enemy toward our ideology, our ethics and our style of life.

With regard to organization, as Marx said about philosophy, the social sciences not only "explain the world in many different ways, but also transform the world." Of course, this transformation is not direct, it occurs through the thinking and the actions of man.

The organizational function of the social sciences lies in the fact that the social sciences, on the basis of knowledge of scientific theory, mold reason and sentiment and create psychological motives that cause man to act in accordance with the common standards of society. The social sciences not only bring a scientific content to ideological activities, but also research ideological activities and conduct investigations of the entire situation surrounding the ideology and culture of the people. They analyze the impact of ideological methods and means and propose correct guidelines and the most scientific measures possible for constantly increasing the effectiveness of ideological activities.

## Part II

In the immediate future, the first task of the social sciences is to urgently research the theory and practice of the period of transition in Vietnam, especially matters related to the present stage.

Our mistakes and shortcomings in the recent past have one important cause, namely, our vague understanding of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, especially with regard to several matters to which

particular attention must be given in the general line and the economic line set forth by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party.

We all know that the line of the party represents the best of all thinking. All incorrect thoughts, negative actions, pessimism, vacillation and loss of confidence have their origin in the failure to grasp the scientific basis underlying the party's line, the profound contents of the party's line and the precise guidelines provided by the party's line.

Due to the failure to grasp the essence of and the specifics involved in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the failure to realize that the survival of our system depends upon firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, many persons still have a vague concept of and are giving light attention to the decisive struggle between ourselves and the enemy, between the two ways of life, between the two ideologies. They do not possess a full sense of revolutionary vigilance in the face of the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy and do not fully respect the discipline of the party or the laws of the state. At some places, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been relaxed and rightism has emerged within the class struggle.

Establishing the system of socialist collective ownership is one of the ideas that encompasses every activity involved in building and defending our fatherland, is one of the most important goals of all the people, is our noble *raison d'être*. It is regrettable that neither philosophy nor sociology have done much to analyze and present the nature and substance of the system of socialist collective ownership or the need for it. This has led to various superficial views of socialist collective ownership, such as viewing it as something remote; viewing it as something commonplace and reducing it to the concept of political democracy; separating the right of ownership from the obligation to exercise ownership; viewing collective ownership as contradictory to the dictatorship of the proletariat; or not viewing it on the basis of the stand of the working class.

"Accelerating socialist industrialization is the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism." It was in this spirit that the party set forth the guidelines for socialist industrialization. To date, economists and related circles have been slow to deeply research several issues, such as the specifics involved in socialist industrialization in the present stage; the relationship between socialist industrialization and other efforts; the specific relationship between giving priority to the development of heavy industry and the development of agriculture and light industry; the relationship between industry and agriculture in the process of building an industrial-agricultural structure for the entire country; the relationship between the central economy and the local economy; the relationship between the development of production forces and the improvement of the new production relations; the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption; and the relationship between the economy and the national defense system in the present stage.

Our party has long stressed the difficulties and complex problems involved in advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. However, what is small-scale production? What were the

characteristics of the small-scale production of Vietnamese society in past years? What kind of an impact are the consequences of small-scale production having upon our activities now? Which present issues are in the nature of laws in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in our country? The social sciences of our country do not have one relatively large-scale, complete project for researching these questions.

From the perspective of basic theories combined with specific projects to investigate every aspect of the social situation, the social sciences must also make more positive contributions to reducing and overcoming the difficulties being faced, rapidly stabilizing and improving the standard of living of the people, eradicating negative phenomena and recording important advances in every field while preparing for strong and steady strides forward in the next stage.

Through the research and teaching of history, the social sciences develop upon the tremendous strengths that have been employed for thousands of years in the cause of building and defending the country. These strengths are patriotism, heroism, the Vietnamese civilization, creative labor, love of one's fellow man and the intelligence of the nation. Although the social sciences have been making efforts in this direction for many years, new and larger contributions are needed in order to use these traditional strengths to meet the requirements of today's revolution.

In order to promote the ideological and cultural revolution, the social sciences must give more attention to analyzing and criticizing the remnants of backward thinking, outmoded customs and habits, styles of thinking and acting that are conservative, backward and unscientific and the decadence of the old society. On the other hand, the social sciences will actively develop upon the spiritual values and glorious traditions of the nation, thereby helping to raise national pride among cadres and the people, especially youths so that everyone knows what their responsibility is, what their bearing should be and what their honor is, overcomes every challenge and difficulty, builds the new life and cultivates the new, socialist lifestyle.

Our party always associates socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism and building the country with possessing a deep knowledge of the world situation and the development of mankind. The social sciences must research the main developments in the international situation and the requirements and significance of the struggle to maintain world peace, which is the most important task of mankind, while shedding light on the characteristics and the laws of our times and supporting the effort to define the foreign policy viewpoints and line of the party. The social sciences must make positive contributions to the formulation of proper ideological viewpoints and sentiments with a view toward developing stronger solidarity with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other fraternal socialist countries. At the same time, they must deeply analyze the reactionary activities of the Beijing expansionists, activities that are being conducted in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, and must, in particular, define the nature of the enemy and the schemes and methods employed by them in the wide ranging war of sabotage being waged against our country now.

In the face of the requirements mentioned above, the social sciences must consider it their glorious task to support, in an increasingly effective manner, the lines and policies of the party; on this basis, they must fulfill the most important aspect of their ideological function, that is, helping to mold the awareness of all the people in accordance with the guidelines of the party.

### Part III

The party consciousness of the social sciences lies in the fact that they always support, from the perspective of science, the work of the party. This is the *raison d'être*, the very reason for the existence of the social sciences.

Clearly aware of the effectiveness of this weapon, the modern bourgeoisie are doing everything possible to disorient the social sciences. They always consider the party consciousness and class consciousness of the social sciences to be signs of factional subjectivism, of ideology above all else, of the abandonment of science.

In essence, the social sciences are always fused to society, are always closely associated with a given ideology and support a given class. The bourgeoisie are clearly aware of this, consequently, they seek only to practice the deception of "removing ideology" from our social sciences. As regards the social sciences in the capitalist countries, they have invested very much money in organizing and using them to serve the interests of their class. The bourgeois governments, political parties and monopolistic capitalist organizations have spent huge sums on research projects of ideological significance.

We believe that the ideological front is a front on which a very sharp struggle is taking place between our people and every enemy, both domestic and foreign. This extremely complex struggle can only culminate in victory for us when we truly wage this struggle on the basis of the results of detailed and serious research by the social sciences.

In the struggle between the two ways of life in our country, the social sciences must do more than analyze and criticize every manifestation of bourgeois thinking. They must also constantly work to abolish the persistent remnants of feudal thinking. Bourgeois thinking, feudal thinking and other non-proletarian ideologies arise and cause harm wherever and whenever the ideology of the working class is not in a position of absolute dominance.

When the stand of the working class has not been firmly established, the negative aspects of petty bourgeois thinking also cause harm in the form of partialism, localism, a superficial approach to matters, doing things on the basis of averages and disorder. When the ideology of the working class is not in a dominant position, small-scale producers usually resist the unethical actions of the bourgeoisie by adopting feudal viewpoints or resist the slave mentality of feudalists by adopting a bourgeois lifestyle. Discerning that which is correct and that which is incorrect, that which is good and that which is bad in the complicated developments of present day life in order to

cultivate progressive thinking among all strata of the people, is extremely difficult work that demands the active and steadfast participation of the social science.

The situation described above is made even more complex when the international reactionaries, primarily the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, attempt by every means possible to attack us on the ideological front. Philosophy, sociology, psychology, religion, art and the traditional media are widely and continuously used by them to attack us. They wish to cast a cloud over communist ideals among our youths and people.

The distort Marxism and communism. They slander the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They attempt to divide and undermine the solidarity of all the people, to divide the three countries of Indochina, to divide Vietnam from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Their objective is to "use every available means in a vain attempt to undermine our revolutionary cause, discredit our system, divide the party from the masses, corrupt cadres, party members and state personnel and cast a cloud over the beautiful image of Vietnam in the hearts of the people of the world." In this situation, the social sciences must utilize every capability at their disposal to reveal to our people the cruel schemes and clever methods of the enemy while launching counter-attacks against the enemy on the fronts of the social sciences: philosophy, sociology, history, literature, etc.

We know that the modern bourgeoisie has, in recent years, authored many reactionary theories, theories that have had a strong impact upon the youths, intellectuals and artists of the world and even our country. As part of their function, the social sciences of Vietnam must actively participate in this broad ideological struggle of our times. In the field of philosophy, many bourgeois trends have emerged and replaced one another as the dominant trend at one time or another. These include phenomenology, personalism, the philosophy of living for the present, neo-Thomism, neo-positivism, post-positivism, structuralism, critical rationalism, humanism and so forth. They make every effort to distort Marxism by showing the differences between Marx as a youth and Marx as a mature man, showing the differences between Marx and Lenin and associating Marxism with neo-Thomism, with the doctrine of Freud, with Piaget's philosophy of knowledge, with Lacan's philosophy of indecision. They slander the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and make every effort to distort the dictatorship of the proletariat, oppose the leadership of the party and deny the role played by the working class.

Through the fraudulent science of "futurism," they predict the following about the society of tomorrow: "Although the society of tomorrow will not be our capitalism, it will not be your communism, either." They have envisioned all sorts of societies emerging: "post-industrial society," "consumer society," "neo-socialist society," "post-socialist society," "symbiotic society," "society of the individual," and so forth.

To date, we have not done much by way of analyzing and criticizing these reactionary theories. This work does not simply involve comparing one ideology with another, rather, we must thoroughly and scientifically criticize



the theories mentioned above in a manner based on principle, in the origin of society and the thinking embodied in these theories.

To effectively combat the ideological trends mentioned above, the social sciences must actively spread Marxism-Leninism so that it becomes the ideology of all the people. This is also the most important prerequisite to improving the qualities and the thinking of the new, socialist man.

#### Part IV

The structure of society in the period of transition is a complex structure that is constantly changing. The basic classes of socialism, the new working class, the class of collective farmers and the stratum of socialist intellectuals, are in the process of forming but remnants of the past still remain. In addition to these classes, there is still a large stratum of small merchants, handicraftsmen and artisans; in particular, there are still many non-socialist social strata in the newly liberated areas of the country. Within these different strata, thinking, sentiments and behavior vary very widely in many different ways. Our ideological weapons only have an effective impact when their use is based on detailed knowledge of their strata, knowledge ranging from occupations, awareness, thinking and political attitudes to lifestyles, personal feelings, family relationships, relationships with friends, what they do with their time and daily activities. As Karl Marx taught: "It is on the basis of living, real persons and also on the basis of their real lives that we describe the reflections and echoes of the thinking of the process of their lives."<sup>(1)</sup> Only by determining the characteristics and the origins of this thinking and these echoes of thinking can we formulate a correct plan for educating and raising the ideological level of each stratum of the people.

This demands that we examine persons in detail within each environment that they live, within the course of each of their activities. Marx said: "This method of examination is not without its premises... These premises are persons, not persons in an isolated and fixed, abstract state, but persons in a process of development--a real process of development that can be seen through experience--under specific conditions."<sup>(2)</sup>

Here, the social sciences, especially sociology, must make an important contribution to refuting and eliminating the empty arguments that exist concerning consciousness and bringing true knowledge to ideological activities. Marx said: "The place where thinking stops--life itself--is the place where positive, true science begins to describe practical actions and the practical process of the development of man. Empty arguments concerning consciousness will come to an end; taking the place of these arguments must be true knowledge. With reality described, philosophy, as an independent field of knowledge, will lose the environment it needs to exist."<sup>(3)</sup>

Under the leadership of the party, the corps of persons engaged in ideological work is improving its activities on the basis of detailed investigation, research and analysis of the situation surrounding the daily lives and

thinking of each stratum of the people while utilizing methods and media suited to each period, to each type person with a view toward achieving higher results.

In the past, during the war of resistance, the period when the entire country fought the enemy and every family had a son on the frontlines, the dissemination of information was the most important aspect of the entire ideological work of the party. The downing of several aircraft, a new victory in battle, the destruction of an enemy post, the capture or surrender of so many enemy troops and so forth, all of this news was anxiously awaited, all of it brought joy to the heart and all of it was rapidly spread from one person to another. These pieces of news alone also brought tremendous inspiration to the laborers in the localities and the persons fighting on the frontlines.

Today, on the production front, news does not have this strong impact. How many readers and listeners are interested in news concerning the growing of seedlings, the transplanting of rice, weeding and the spraying of pesticide at one place or another? The people's spirit and attitude toward work are enhanced not by the fact that they see images of persons transplanting rice on television each day but through thorough education provided by the party. The large results that ideological work achieves originate in systematic instruction at party schools, articles of a theoretical and practical nature in the press and popular materials; in the various types of art and plays which, although hastily written and brief, have the impact of television; in giving the people, through analysis, a deep understanding of the glory of labor and the shame of a parasitic lifestyle; and in molding the attitudes and thinking of the people concerning the burning issues and problems in life.

In socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland, a host of very complex and profound problems of life have emerged in every field of labor, combat and daily relations, within families, in the relationships of love and friendship and concerning our international obligation. Here, the simple dissemination of information cannot be as effective as detailed propaganda conducted through the activities of education, art, and the social sciences, among which the activities of the social sciences play a very important role.

The age in which we live is providing us with very diverse and effective means for the mass media. In the capitalist countries, these are commercial means of the bourgeoisie and means to poison the people and serve base tastes. Conversely, in the socialist countries, they are valuable means for increasing the knowledge, raising the ideological and political level and improving the lifestyle of the people. On the one hand, the social sciences must use and improve the methods and means that they employ now; on the other hand, they must heighten the impact that they have on the ideological front through the use of the means available today.

Clearly aware of their position, role and task in the new stage and under the close leadership of the party, the social sciences will surely conduct more effective activities and, together with the other sectors, truly become effective weapons on the ideological front, struggle against all non-proletarian thinking, win victory for socialist ideology and make Marxism-

Leninism the ideology of all our people, a spiritual strength helping everyone to successfully complete each task set forth by the party.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 277.
2. Ibid., pp 277-278.
3. Ibid., p 278.

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THE INITIAL RESULTS FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW MANAGEMENT SYSTEM  
WITHIN THE EA SUP FEDERATION OF FORESTRY AND INDUSTRY

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[Article by Phan Thanh Xuan]

[Text] The Ea Sup Federation of Forestry and Industry operates within the three districts of Ea Sup, Krong Buk and Ea H' Leo in Dac Lac Province. This area, which is rich in natural resources and measures 450,000 hectares, has a total timber reserve in excess of 40 million cubic meters, as much as 20 million cubic meters of which can be harvested. The potentials of the forest land in the area, which includes 130,000 hectares of basalt soil and silt that have collected along rivers, 90,000 hectares of laterized soil and 230,000 hectares of basalt soil and degraded alluvial soil, provide favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of forestry, agriculture and industry.

However, natural and socio-economic conditions there pose more than a few difficulties. These difficulties are the results of a distinct monsoon climate, the fact that the agricultural and forestry economy has developed slowly and is, generally speaking, still in the stage of gathering products from nature, production methods are backward, the population is sparse and the livelihood of the ethnic minorities there is based mainly on slash and burn cultivation, consequently, thousands of hectares of forests are burned each year. The socialist production relations within agriculture have only recently been established and are still weak; in many villages, the level of socio-economic development is very low. In addition, the acts of sabotage being conducted by the enemy, the harsh weather, dangerous diseases and the difficult living conditions at remote places in the forests resulted in even greater difficulties being faced when initiating the establishment of the federation.

However, the cadres and workers of the Ea Sup Federation of Forestry and Industry researched and gained a thorough understanding of the forestry development line of the party, made an effort to apply it in a creative manner to the specific circumstances that exist in the Central Highlands, developed correct guidelines and took effective and firm organizational measures in accordance with these guidelines, consequently, they succeeded in initiating

production and the development of forest resources and put the management and business operations of the federation on a regular basis at an early date. In 3 years (1980-1982), under the guideline of building forest resources while carrying out production, the Ea Sup federation harvested and delivered to the state 104,000 cubic meters of wood and tens of thousands of cubic meters of firewood and provided for the regrowth and repair of the forests following harvesting; at the same time, it replanted more than 10,000 hectares of forest. It quickly defined the parameters of its production and raised its harvesting capacity from 20,000-30,000 cubic meters of wood per year to 90,000-100,000 cubic meters per year while expanding afforestation from 1,000 to 7,000 hectares per year. It rapidly constructed material and technical bases, improved the economic structure of its infrastructure, established profitable business operations, rapidly achieved returns from investments and reclaimed investment capital for the budget in a relatively short amount of time. The federation controls natural resources and has organized its production and business in accordance with the requirements of a key commercial forestry area that practices large-scale production and has had a positive impact upon socio-economic development within the locality by helping to organize and guide the ethnic nomads who still practice slash and burn cultivation to a new life, a life based on efficiently harvesting and utilizing the combined potentials of forest resources, arable land and labor in a way that smoothly combines agriculture and forestry.

The Ea Sup Federation of Forestry and Industry has boldly solved the difficulties involved in the management mechanism characterized by administrative bureaucracy and one level taking over the work of the lower level and begun to establish the new management mechanism of the federation, one which provides the federation with centralized control while tapping the initiative and creativity of the member enterprises. This mechanism also satisfies all three interests and directs appropriate attention to the living conditions of manual and office workers on the basis of raising labor productivity and organizing subsidiary production. In this way, it closely links the worker to the task of building and developing forest resources within the federation's area of operation.

The results mentioned above have been achieved because the federation has firmly adhered to its central, basic task with regard to the building of forest resources, correctly applied the viewpoints, line and guidelines of the party regarding the development of forestry and taken determined steps to organize its operations in accordance with this line.

#### I. Firmly Adhering to the Central Task of Building and Managing Forest Resources Well

One of the problems of our country's forestry industry that is deserving of concern is the fact that forest resources decline wherever harvesting operations are expanded. Although every forestry site has the two basic tasks of harvesting timber and providing for the regrowth of forests, due to the way that production is organized and managed and due to the policies that exist, incentive is provided for harvesting but light attention is given to the regrowth of forests. This tendency is even stronger in the day to day guidance of production, consequently, the destruction of forests is

unavoidable. Therefore, as soon as we began establishing the federation, we were aware of the fact that we had to take determined steps to provide for the regrowth of forests and not allow harvesting to cause forest resources to decline, rather, harvesting must be viewed as one of the measures involved in the rebuilding of forest resources. Although the quantity of wood harvested by the federation each year is quite large (roughly 90,000-100,000 cubic meters per year, the equivalent of the output of one mountain province), we have always maintained that our central, basic task is to provide for the regrowth and development of forest resources so that the forest resources being managed by the federation do not decline because such a large quantity of wood is being harvested, but are, instead, developed in scale, quantity and quality. In essence, this involves establishing the proper relationship between immediate and long-range harvesting requirements and implementing the principle of providing for the expanded reproduction of forest resources.

In this spirit, we have, within the 450,000 hectares of forests and forest land managed by the federation, only established one specialized harvesting enterprise, which is equipped with rather well matched technical equipment; meanwhile, we must establish 10 forestry sites that specialize in the regrowth and rebuilding of forest resources, which means that there must be at least 20 workers specializing in regrowth for every 1 worker engaged in harvesting in order to meet the requirements involved in the building of forest resources.

As regards our business operations and the building of forests, we have simultaneously applied three different types of measures: first, planting new forests on bare land and barren hills; secondly, upgrading poor forests and improving depleted forests; and thirdly, harvesting the virgin areas of forests in order to acquire products to serve the needs of the national economy while regenerating the forests by increasing the size and the quality of the forests in subsequent harvesting cycles.

In the management, conservation and development of forest resources, we consider reorganizing the forests to be a basic measure of foremost importance and have divided the forests into sub-sites and subareas (we have planned 80 forest subareas, each of which measures roughly 1,000 hectares); on this basis, we have regulated and organized afforestation and the repair of forests or assigned harvested land to other units and closed forests in order to perform sanitation, plant trees, etc. Organizing the forest into subareas has also created the premise for fulfilling our function of managing and conserving forest resources in a thorough manner, thus eliminating the problem of wilderness forest of which no one is in charge; at the same time, it lays the groundwork for the formation of residential centers and for socio-economic development at each forestry site and forestry enterprise. As a result of realizing the full importance of building forest resources and focusing our efforts on correctly meeting the requirements of providing for the regrowth of forests, we have achieved success in all three areas of our work: the regrowth of forests following harvesting, the repair and planting of forests and the expansion of forests on bare land and barren hills.

II. Coordinating the Task of Building and Developing the Forest Economy with the Requirements of Socio-Economic Development Within the Federation's Area of Operation



The federation of forestry and industry is a new type of organization of the forestry sector, is a federation of many different economic sectors and many different economic segments operating within the same area. Within the scope of the federation, there are more than simply state-operated forestry sites and enterprises; because, no forestry site is without a population and no federation that operates within an area that encompasses many districts is detached from the economic base of the locality. The various economic segments (the central state-operated economy, the local state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy) have close and very dialectical reciprocal relationships, relationships which must be properly established in the federation's guidance of production activities. The Ea Sup Federation is one of the strong economic units of the central level. To properly fulfill its role, it must have the active participation of the local government and people. On the other hand, it must fulfill its responsibility as a unit of the central state-operated economy with regard to supporting and stimulating the development of the local economy so that the full strength of the central economy, the local economy, the state economy and the people is employed to develop the forestry-agricultural-industrial economy within the area in every respect, stimulate the development of the standard of living, the economy and society within this area that is rich in natural resources but underdeveloped economically and establish stable economic bases for the entire country. We realize that the investments made in opening a large economic region such as the Ea Sup Federation are designed not only to harvest forest products to meet the requirements of the state, but also designed to rebuild resources, stimulate the development of the various local economic sectors and help to improve the material, cultural and spiritual conditions of the tens of thousands of people who belong to the ethnic minorities so that the lives of the people here are truly closely associated with the forests and the people themselves no longer live in opposition to the forests. In the mountainous forests of the Central Highlands, in view of the fact that the other sectors of the economy have not developed, the forestry economy occupies the leading position and plays a role as the economic sector stimulating the development of a comprehensive forestry-agricultural-industrial economy within the locality. As a result, in the course of initiating and developing our activities, we have not detached ourselves from or worked against the local economy; to the contrary, we have brought the central economy, the local economy, the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy together under unified planning and within specific forms of economic alliances, within which the state-operated economy always plays the key, dominant role and assists both the collective economy and the household economy. This is the largest achievement that we have recorded as a result of the learning process and our steadfast organizational effort of the past several years. As a result of establishing the above mentioned economic relations well, the federation has become firmly established and efficiently carried out its tasks; the destruction of forests has been curbed and the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy have developed. In addition to their income from slash and burn cultivation, the people also earn income from the forestry trade and from orchards. Through the guideline "the state and the people working together" and with seed provided by the state, labor provided by the people and organization and guidance provided by the party committee echelon, we have been able to increase the scale of afforestation each year six to seven times compared to

the actual capacity of our unit. The federation has also invested some of its money for capital construction and some enterprise profits in the local economy; for example, it has invested in the construction of dams, wet rice fields and a number of public welfare projects, thereby bringing about economic, cultural and social changes within the villages. In particular, we and the local party committee echelon and government have conducted a successful settlement of nomads campaign, one which has primarily involved establishing reasonable production guidelines based on developing the potentials and strengths that lie in the locality's forests, labor and arable land with a view toward providing stable lives for the people. The model of the coordination of the settlement of nomads with the building of forest resources through the combination of agriculture and forestry which has been established at Chu Pong Village has been highly evaluated by the locality in every respect. This is the best way to expand the settlement of nomads campaign and bring the ethnic nomads who still live by slash and burn cultivation to a new and stable life based on crop production within stable, fertile fields, forestry and the cultivation of orchards. In Chu Pong Village, the people have wet rice fields, grasslands for livestock, industrial crop orchards and both natural and cultivated forests. Their level of production is constantly being raised, backward production habits have been replaced and the new production relations within agriculture have been strengthened and developed. As we did in the models of Chu Pong, Buon Vin and Chu Ne, we have joined the districts in promoting agro-forestry planning as the premise for the settlement of nomads within the villages.

We realize that the purpose of establishing good economic relations between the central level and the locality, between the state and the people is to establish good relations in terms of economic interests among the state, the collective and the individual laborer, among which it is the interests of the state that are always considered to be of foremost importance. At certain times and places, we have given attention to providing incentive to collectives and individual laborers; however, the ultimate goal has been to serve the highest and the long-range interests of all society. Because, without the concern of the local party committee echelons and government for the forestry industry within the locality, without organizing and helping the people to build the new life and without closely linking the interests of the people to the conservation and development of the forest resources at the places where they live, we cannot manage or conserve the forests nor expand the forestry industry in a comprehensive manner. The settlement of nomads campaign that we and the local party committee echelon have been carrying out on the basis of models for each area is designed primarily to achieve the goal of coordinating the economic development of the sector with the requirements of socio-economic development within the territory. All the efforts made by our federation to reorganize the forests and organize production have been closely linked to the requirements involved in reorganizing production within the districts, villages and cooperatives and the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives, production collectives and households in order to: closely link labor to arable land and natural resources; develop the potentials and strengths that lie in forestry; coordinate the requirements involved in capital construction to support production with supporting the welfare of the people; organizing sub-sites and forestry production units within villages in order to establish population centers and forestry

villages, thereby making it possible to reorganize the lives of forestry workers and provide the minimum conditions they need, such as stores, medical aid stations, schools and places where they can relax; and gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the ethnic minorities, build a strong alliance of workers and farmers and establish and constantly strengthen and improve the new production relations within the locality. The capital that the federation has provided to the districts to help them build projects supporting production and everyday life, although not large (about 4 to 5 million dong annually), has been very significant because it has generated enthusiasm and confidence on the part of the masses concerning the policy of the party and state.

### III. The First Steps in Improving Organization and Improving the Management Mechanism Within the Federation

Because forestry production has its own unique aspects, the forestry-industrial federation form of organization is different from the federations of industrial enterprises that have been organized within individual specialized sectors within our country. We maintain that the forestry-industrial federation is a form of federation of many different economic sectors operating within a given territory, a territory within which virtually all areas are quite rich in natural resources but are not developed economically or socially. The main tasks of a forestry-industrial federation are:

--Organizing the forests and managing and rebuilding forest resources in such a way as to maintain a permanent and stable supply of forestry products to the national economy while maintaining and enhancing the role played by the forests as shelter belts protecting the environment.

--Harvesting, processing, transporting and marketing the various types of forest products (wood, forestry products, special products and pharmaceuticals) as well as industrial products, industrial crops, livestock products and fish (resulting from the coordination of agriculture and forestry) on the basis of industrial procedures and the most efficient division of production responsibilities possible.

--Building the infrastructure and material bases in accordance with unified planning for the entire area, planning which insures the comprehensive development of an economic area. In order to fulfill these basic tasks, we have attached foremost importance to reorganizing the forests in accordance with the requirements of industrial management and production. The federation and the people's committees of the various districts have divided the forests and forest land by management unit and assigned clear and specific responsibilities to each unit (forestry site, state farm, cooperative, production collective and so forth) concerning the management, conservation and development of forest resources.

In the Ea Sup Federation, clearly defined responsibilities based on the principle of specialization have been assigned for the harvesting and the rebuilding of forest resources, thereby avoiding haphazard harvesting, a practice which leads to the destruction of forests. This is also the premise

for eventually initiating the sale of standing trees in order to develop a greater sense of responsibility toward practicing forest conservation and practicing thorough economy and making full use of wood in the harvesting process.

Besides the state-operated installations that serve as the nucleus of the forestry industry within the area, we have organized the cooperatives, production collectives and people in the villages within the new economic zones in various forms and degrees of forestry production, all of which have the purpose of supporting the economic objectives of the federation. During the past 3 years, by establishing specialized organizations and establishing close, effective and timely management and cooperation, the production and business operations of the federation have gradually been oriented toward the central task of building forest resources. Each year, the federation has completed its regrowth plan and its forest industry plan, delivered all the products required to the state in exact accordance with the plan, raised labor productivity and increased the income and improved the living conditions of workers.

As regards improvements to planning, it is first of all necessary for the scope of the plan of a forestry-industrial enterprise to be limited to primary norms concerning the building of forest resources, the production and marketing of products and capital construction and production supporting the forestry industry. The output of primary products produced within the area of operation of the federation must first be based on the actual capabilities of the forest and forest land that are in commercial use so that plans can be computed and determined in a precise manner, not a subjective fashion. As regards afforestation, which requires a few years of preparation so that we have time to purchase or harvest seed and organize seedling nurseries to provide a full supply of high quality seed to insure that planting is carried out in accordance with the plan, we usually assign planned norms and balance the necessary conditions at an early date so that initiative can be taken in implementing the plan. Under the guideline "using the forests to support the development of the forests," we have tried to take the initiative in formulating and implementing plans for the planting of increasingly large forests of increasingly high quality. We maintain that the present method of allocating capital for afforestation by one echelon doing the work that another should do as well as the practice of calculating the production costs per cubic meter of wood merely on the basis of the costs directly incurred in the felling of timber, the transportation of timber from forests and so forth do not take into consideration the expenditures that are necessary in order to regenerate the forests and are unreasonable because they do not closely link harvesting requirements with the regrowth of forests. Production costs per unit of product must also include the costs incurred in providing for the regrowth of forests and building forest resources; at the same time, a significant percentage of the difference between the wholesale prices of supplies and the industrial wholesale prices of products harvested from the forests must be reinvested in the rebuilding of forests within the area. Funds for forest maintenance must also be established and balanced within the area. Revenues must be closely linked to expenditures in order to provide incentive for localities and installations to collect all revenues due them in

exact accordance with policies in order to provide greater capabilities for meeting the requirements involved in the rebuilding of the forests.

As regards contributing profits earned by the federation to the district budgets and for the construction of public welfare projects, we have only been able to contribute a very small percentage. The state must adopt official regulations on the percentage of profits to be contributed by federations, thereby truly causing the central economy to have a positive impact upon the area and closely linking the interests of the district level to its specific responsibilities with regard to organizing, managing and protecting the resources within the territory well.

The Ea Sup Federation now has 17 member enterprises. The production federation is responsible for the final product, the member enterprises practice cost accounting by stage of production and the entire federation practices overall cost accounting. Thus, we have abolished bureaucratic administrative management and truly linked the management apparatus of the federation to the direct production of its member enterprises; at the same time, we have developed the initiative, creativity and responsibility of each enterprise and forestry site. Of course, in the process of the development of forestry sites and enterprises, the federation will, depending upon the scale, the nature and the specific management capabilities of each unit, suitably broaden the scope of cost accounting in the most effective manner possible.

As regards the cadre policy, wages and bonuses, the federation, realizing that cadres are the most decisive victory in the success of each line and task of the revolution, initiated cadre planning and training as soon as it came into existence and now has a corps of competent cadres who possess good qualities and virtues and are fully capable of completing their task. We have established piecework wages and bonuses and closely linked the material interests of managers to the results of production and business of each enterprise or unit of which they are in charge. Through the widespread implementation of piecework wages, the labor productivity and real income of direct production workers, management cadres and the cadres and personnel in indirect production throughout the federation have increased, everyone is content with his job and enthusiastic and negative phenomena have been curbed.

Management work at the Ea Sup Federation of Forestry and Industry has gradually been put on a regular basis and has had a certain impact upon production, but this is only an initial result. The Ea Sup Federation is not without weaknesses that must be studied and corrected. To begin with, the organization and management of a forestry-industrial federation--which is a special type of production organization that is broad in scope and complex in nature--demand that we give thought to and discover ways to correctly and creatively apply the line of the party and implement the economic management mechanism of the state in a manner consistent with the economic and technical characteristics of the forestry industry within the Central Highlands. They also require that we further intensify the settlement of nomads campaign in order to curb and eventually stop slash and burn cultivation, join with the local party committee echelon and government in reorganizing the lives of the ethnic minorities by introducing them to forestry, the cultivation of orchards and intensive crop production, thoroughly developing the overall potentials of



an area rich in natural resources such as Ea Sup and quickly carry out comprehensive economic and social development.

As regards the production organization, management and business of the federation, we must attach more importance to managing the forests and organizing production in accordance with the approved socio-economic planning and plans and make greater improvements in processing operations in order to increase the value and the use value of products, economize on and increase the percentage of wood being harvested and processed, reduce transportation needs, increase production and business efficiency and balance the various elements of the federation's production line. Research must be conducted so that we can propose to the Ministry of Forestry and the state that they quickly establish a management mechanism that is suited to the special characteristics of forestry production, especially a mechanism that encompasses planning, production costs, the prices of harvested products and the reasonable regulation and distribution of the sources of forest development funds and profits to the local budget, one that is designed to provide incentive for forest conservation, increased afforestation and economization and the efficient use of the various types of forestry products.

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## ARBITRARINESS AND DESPOTISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 54-57

[Article by Van Chang]

[Text] When a cadre is assigned to a certain position by our party and state, he will get simultaneously some necessary authority to insure the satisfactory fulfillment of his duty.

For example, he who is in charge of a locality or a unit has the right to outline plans and guide the implementation of plans, issue decisions, control the implementation of decisions, select his collaborators and promote, commend, and recruit or take disciplinary measures against his subordinate cadres and personnel in accordance with general regulations.

Deprived of these rights, he would be hardly able to perform his duty, and his position could easily become a "sinecure." In providing guidance for a project, after listening to all the views of his collaborators and weighing on different projects, the man in charge has the right to decide and must be responsible for his decisions.

This correctly and specifically manifests the principle of democratic centralization.

Position and power are so coupled with each other and support each other. Power helps fulfill the position while the position is a legal guarantee of power. It is incorrect to make light of power, considering it something bad and unnecessary to the new society.

Power with its genuine scope is a weapon for the revolutionary cadres. It is a means to insure work effectiveness, firmly maintain discipline in the party and the state machinery, and reflect the laboring people's strength in exercising their collective mastery. It also manifests specifically the dictatorship of the proletariat. It serves as a legal basis for cadres to perform their duties and to independently bear the brunt of resolving problems within their sphere of work responsibility.

It is therefore necessary that every man in charge wield his power firmly. Not exercising his power would mean that he shirks his responsibility.

However, with regard to us, what is worth being mentioned now is that quite a number of cadres of all ranks have abused their power to do wrong, leading to arbitrariness and despotism. Arbitrariness makes one decide everything independently without listening to other's suggestions. Despotism makes one seize all kinds of power and think that one has the right to do everything and disregard the organization. Arbitrariness and despotism usually go together like a figure and its shadow. One is both the cause and the effect of the other. The report on party development at the 5th Party Congress observed: "Arbitrariness and despotism still prevail in the machinery of our party and state."(1)

Let us take a look at the development and evolution of arbitrariness and despotism.

When a cadre is assigned to a new position, he is usually modest for some time at the beginning. He knows how to listen to the suggestions of people around him and observes the principle of democratic centralization. Until a certain time, he sees himself respected by all around him and even flattered and fawned upon because of his authority. He then realizes that he can use his authority to gain some profit for himself and his family. Henceforth, if he is unable to control himself or if there is no collective control, he begins to summarily seize power and strives to gain some profit with it.

After intentionally committing some wrongdoings on a trial basis--which can be easily concealed by compelling subordinates to do everything according to his will, isolating "stubborn" subordinates, "favoring" those who side with him, and abusively using the criteria for material remuneration--, and if everything goes smoothly, he will slide further down the path of his wrongdoings. More serious wrongdoings will be committed.

For example, in formulating production and work plans, he will proceed from his subjective thinking, making light of the party policies and lines and overlooking his collaborators' suggestions. In implementing higher authorities' directives and resolutions he will claim the independence and creativity of his locality as a pretext to belittle higher echelons' guidance. He can even go so far as to consider his locality a separate "country."

In his performance of duty, he likes to issue orders, using more coercion than persuasion. He considers his views as the absolute truth and his colleagues as footmen, overlooks sycophants' mistakes, and appoints his fellows to key positions of his agency to act as supporters and to facilitate his monopolistic action in the organization. He simultaneously seeks all means to hide the truth, cover up negativism, isolate honest people, and hold a grudge against those who intend to oppose him.

Regarding benefits, he establishes for himself a separate system of remuneration that far exceeds the criteria established by the party and state. He so makes himself different from others and turns himself into a man whom President Ho used to portray and severely condemn: "When in charge of a zone, he behaves like a king and indulges in arrogance. He has little respect for higher authorities, oppresses his subordinates, and puts on an official air in his public relations, frightening the people. Such 'haughtiness' has caused much antipathy and division."(2)

There are several causes of arbitrariness and despotism. Some people begin to consider themselves superior to all those around them, while others, out of paternalism and pride taken in some of their previous merits, become bossy toward their colleagues. Some people have also acted out of bad motives and wanted to abuse their power to achieve personal ambitions, thus becoming arbitrary and despotic.

No matter what the cause, arbitrariness and despotism are major offenses. They first of all violate the party's ideal and the people's interests. Our party and people have gone through a struggle full of dangers, hardships, and sacrifices to regain power nationwide and every people and every family has contributed to this struggle. Hundreds of thousands and millions of people of several generations have fallen. The power invested in each cadre today has been brought about by this stalwart struggle. This power belongs to our glorious party and heroic nation. In investing each cadre with power, the party and people require him to knowingly and only use this power for the sole purpose of bringing about the highest results in work and of most satisfactorily fulfilling his assigned duty.

Being arbitrary and despotic and, worse still, abusing authority to satisfy personal ambitions and desires runs counter to the ideal, lines, and policies of the party and to the people's interests. It means ingratitude and betrayal of the sacrifices of our compatriots and comrades.

Arbitrariness and despotism are also major offenses in the fact that they have caused serious damage and losses to the machinery of the party and state.

The 5th Party Congress report on party development clearly pointed to the real status of agencies and units commanded by cadres who are arbitrary and despotic: "The initiative, creativity, and ability of cadres, party members and people are restrained because they are usually afraid of and reluctant to criticize the cadres in charge. For the sake of saving face, they often overlook the mistakes of agencies and units of the cadres in charge. In those agencies and units, collective mastery is exercised for the sake of formality and the voices of candid and forthright people are normally considered 'negative.' Cases of flattery, fawning, opportunism, 'bending with the wind,' often occur, causing disunity. Cases of subtle or brazen revenge against straightforward cadres normally cannot be avoided."(3)

Those agencies and units are sick organizations. Particularly at the present time when the Chinese expansionists-hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists are waging a multifaceted war of sabotage against our country, those agencies and units are good grounds for enemies to perpetrate crimes. In this sense, we can conclude without fear of exaggeration that arbitrariness and despotism create more conditions for the enemies to oppose and attack us.

History as well as the realistic experiences of our party have shown that arbitrary and despotic people share no cruel or perfidious trick to cover up their offenses. They preserve their power by seeking "umbrellas." As a result, they are well versed in flattering and fawning upon their superiors. They use power to maintain power. Consequently, they become increasingly arbitrary and tyrannical. They preserve power through factionalism and never cease to monopolize the organization. They further preserve their power by

deceiving the masses. They are therefore notorious demagogues. In the face of so many tricks, all party committee echelons and organizations must be very alert by increasing control and inspection, staying close to party members and the masses, and listening to truthful voices to promptly detect arbitrary and despotic people.

Our party policy is to establish the laboring people's collective mastery. Arbitrariness and despotism are major obstacles to the implementation of the laboring people's collective mastery. President Ho said: Cadres are both leaders and servants of the people. Arbitrary and despotic people have violated President Ho's teachings.

To prevent and eliminate arbitrariness and despotism in all sectors and at all levels, there are several tasks to be done uniformly to intensively educate and forge cadres and party members, promote internal democracy, enhance criticism and self-criticism, step up party control, and promptly and severely deal with arbitrary and despotic people. Along with performing these tasks, we must improve the organizational system, develop and perfect the work statutes in all sectors and at all levels, and clearly determine the responsibility of every level, sector, organization and individual. A rationally organized machinery with clearly defined functions, authority, principles, and work methods will exert no small impact on restraining arbitrariness and despotism.

We should further pay attention to developing the people's collective mastery and listening to their suggestions. In this regard, Lenin's teaching some 62 years ago still is of significance to us: "In assessing people and eliminating those who 'infiltrate the party,' the 'bureaucrats,' and those who 'have been bureaucratized,' the guidance of the proletarian masses outside the party is very valuable. With marvelous effectiveness, the laboring masses can detect the difference between loyal and devoted communist party members and those who are hated and detested by people who earn their living by their own sweat, who have no prerogatives or privileges, and who have no conditions for further promotion."(4)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Documents of the 5th Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Book III, p 55.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Party Development," Su That Publishing House, 1980, Hanoi, p 29.
3. "Document on the 5th Party Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Book III, p 56.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Book," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Book 44, p 152.

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STAY THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' WARMONGERING HANDS!

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 58-63

[Unattributed article]

[Text] One of the special characteristics of the world situation at present is the intensification of the U.S. imperialists' war craze. The U.S. imperialists are taking advantage of an incident involving a South Korean airliner, which was carrying out a spying mission under U.S. direction and was punished by the Soviet Air Defense forces, to whip up a frenzied anti-Soviet campaign, including so-called "sanctions" against the Soviet Union, that run completely counter to international law and common sense. This anti-Soviet chorus is led by the U.S. imperialists with backup vocals by a number of close U.S. allies and backup instrumentals by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists who have the ambition to drive the world into "great chaos," assert its "great rule," and then gain world hegemony. This blatant provocation shows that Washington is ready to commit any base act regardless of the loss to human life to realize its designs. It wants to hit many targets with one arrow: destroying the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union; eclipsing the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union which are winning broad support of world public opinion and, consequently, neutralizing the entire peace movement which is vigorously rising throughout our planet; negating the effect of the recent Madrid agreement on the convocation of a conference to discuss measures for consolidating confidence, security, and disarmament in Europe; rallying allied forces and turning them into nuclear hostages at the mercy of the United States; eventually deploying new U.S. intermediary-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe from the end of this year; and, at the same time, directly serving Reagan's coming morale-boosting trip to Asia and improving his image somewhat for the 1984 U.S. presidential elections.

From a broader viewpoint, this was only one in a series of provocative actions which the Reagan administration has taken periodically domino-style to constantly maintain world tension with ever-present "hot spots" with the aim of carrying out its policy of all-out confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and preparing for a nuclear war in an attempt to "destroy" socialism, crush the uprising of the oppressed and exploited nations, and gain the position of world supremacy.

Due to this policy of the U.S. imperialists, the spectre of the nuclear mushroom cloud--the danger of a war that destroys mankind--is looming up ever more distinctly on the horizon. Reagan has made public without any ambiguity plans for "limited" and "prolonged" nuclear wars, projects for the use of chemical and biological weapons, and the program for the militarization of space. He has submitted to the U.S. Congress for its approval the decision to deploy 100 new MX strategic missiles and has pressed his West European allies to make intensive preparations for the emplacement of new U.S. intermediary-range missiles, thereby turning Europe into a gigantic arsenal. The military budgets of the warlike imperialist countries are increasing with each passing day--more than \$1.5 billion is earmarked for each day and almost \$600 billion is wasted annually in armament. In particular, the U.S. military budget for 1984 is earmarked at \$184 billion, and if other military expenditures are also counted, this figure totals \$240 billion.

The former world wars resulted in the death of tens of millions of people, untold suffering, and great losses--but they still were controllable. Today a world war, with the use of nuclear weapons, will threaten the life of all mankind. War is basically a succession of politics by other means. But if it is a nuclear war, this will be the end to all forms of politics, because there is neither winner nor loser here. Even those who can take refuge in fortified underground shelters will not be able to find the conditions for life upon re-emerging on the ground.

Due to the warlike policy of the U.S. imperialists, there still exist "hot areas" in the world. The Middle East cauldron is still burning. Israeli troops are continuing to ravage Lebanon, and U.S. imperialists have jumped into the Middle East militarily by sending Marines to occupy Lebanon and bombarding this country from warships. The atmosphere of an undeclared war on the Nicaraguan border is growing tense as the U.S. imperialists incessantly threaten the countries in Central America and the Caribbean. The South African apartheidists have truculently attacked and occupied part of the territories of the "frontline states" in South Africa. The undeclared war against Afghanistan is still continuing. The U.S. imperialists are supporting the revival of Japanese militarism, strengthening the so-called "strategic cooperation" and "military cooperation" with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, and, together with the latter, maintaining tension along the Kampuchea-Thai border and confrontation between the ASEAN and Indochinese countries.

The Reagan administration has turned the U.S. imperialists' policy of conducting the arms race and creating tension into a true "crusade" against socialism and the world revolutionary movement, and, at the same time, driven the whole of mankind to the brink of a destructive nuclear war. Mankind must remain extremely vigilant in the face of this danger.

As the U.S. imperialists' war craze is intensifying, the anti-U.S. movement in the world has risen, and the three revolutionary currents of our times have grown firm and strong. Reagan's truculence, far from adding "strength" to the United States, has only brought this country deeper into a comprehensive and grave crisis. The economic "recovery" Reagan has boasted about is merely a false recovery that is based on budget deficits and the maintenance of high



interest rates and that holds no good promises for U.S. society. And, together with the United States, other developed capitalist countries are sinking ever deeper into the all-round crisis. As a result of this, they have grown more distant from their ally on the other side of the ocean. And the deeper they are caught in a crisis, the most warlike militarist circles become more reckless to the point that they are ready to send millions of people to death in an attempt to extricate themselves from the crisis and maintain their profits.

However, that which decides on the situation, in the final analysis, is not the subjective wishes of the inflamed minds but the following factors that have a permanent effect:

The first factor is the strength of the world socialist system of which the Soviet Union is the pillar. Although pressed by the imperialists to shoulder the burden of armament, the socialist countries are still able to develop their economy while maintaining the necessary capability for national defense. The Soviet Union has achieved a strategic-military balance against the United States, and the Warsaw bloc is as strong militarily as NATO. This equilibrium is a factor for insuring world peace, and the socialist countries are determined not to allow the United States and NATO to break it. The Soviet Union has unequivocally given the stern warning that if the West sabotages the talks on intermediary-range nuclear weapons and insists on deploying new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw bloc will have to take effective retaliatory measures and that the imperialists should not take this lightly.

The second factor consists of the strength of the revolutionary movement in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the ever-growing strength of socialism-oriented countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, South Yeman, Mozambique and Afghanistan; the strength of the Central American and Caribbean countries that are rising up against domestic reactionary regimes and the U.S. imperialists' gross intervention in order to turn the U.S. imperialists' "backyard" into an anti-U.S. "frontline"; the strength of the Arab peoples in the Middle East and the peoples of South Africa who are resolutely opposing all the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in Israel and the Republic of South Africa; and the strength of the three nations in Indochina which are valiantly and successfully confronting Beijing expansionism and hegemonism and are jointly holding high in the world the banner of national independence and socialism. It also includes the movement of the non-aligned countries with are broadly rallying forces in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism for national independence, peace, and the establishment of a new world order.

The third factor is the strength of the workers and democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries which are struggling resolutely for peace, democracy, and social progress. Taking the lead in this movement are the French, Portuguese, Greek and other communist parties.

The fourth factor is the movement to defend peace and prevent a nuclear war which is developing vigorously on all the continents. This movement is becoming more and more anti-imperialist and popular and is taking diverse

forms. Georgi Dimitrov's theory--that of encircling the earth with a chain of peace fortresses from London to Tokyo and from Berlin to New York--is today being brought into practice even beyond his expectation. As observed by the peace assembly held in Prague in June 1983, the peace movement is "an important force and one of the factors deciding the world situation that may influence governments' actual policies in the defense of peace."

The fifth factor is that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is both principled and flexible. This policy has the effect of upholding the just cause, exposing the perfidious designs and false allegations of the U.S. imperialists, and consequently rallying broad forces in the world, including part of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries, in the struggle for peace to stay the hands of the most warlike militarists.

The sixth factor is the ever-deepening schism in the rank of the U.S. allies. To wage a world war the U.S. imperialists must rally forces and win more allies. But under present conditions concerning the balance of force in the world, the United States can hardly do this. It is not that all of the U.S. allies docilely act on order of the United States on all of the main fronts of the "crusade" against communist--namely the arms race, economic embargo, and the fuss over the question of human rights. In particular, the contradiction between the United States and France is becoming more and more noticeable over such issues as the issue of East-West relations, the Lebanese issue, the Chadian issue, the Latin American issue, the recent South Korean airliner incident, and so forth.

In view of this, the possibility of defending world peace and preventing a nuclear disaster is real and increasing with each passing day.

To turn the aforementioned possibility into reality the central immediate task of all mankind is to do everything possible to stop the frenzied arms race of the U.S. imperialists, prevent them from deploying new intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, and, failing this, take measures to nullify what the United States hopes to gain with its "armament" policy. By achieving this objective, we will take an important step forward on the long road of struggle for peace in particular and for the lofty objectives of mankind in general.

The issue of intermediate-range missiles involves an extremely fierce political, ideological and psychological struggle. The U.S. imperialists are sending up a thick smokescreen of deception to cover up their perfidious schemes.

They invent the excuse that the Soviet Union possesses military superiority and has modernized its intermediate-range missiles aimed at Western Europe to justify their plan to deploy more missiles. The truth is that the Soviet Union never started the arms race. The U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles were manufactured in the United States as early as 1969, that is 8 years before the Soviet Union deployed its SS-20 missiles; and the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe was discussed by NATO in 1975, that is 2 years before the appearance of the SS-20 missiles. On the other hand, Soviet missiles are deployed to cope with the existing U.S. "forward

weapons"--nuclear bombers based in eastern Britain, the FRG, and other countries--as well as with the nuclear weapons of Britain and France. Meanwhile, the weapons the U.S. imperialists plan to deploy in Western Europe in the end of 1983--winged Tomahawk and Pershing-II missiles--are completely new missiles that can hit targets lying deep inside the European territory of the Soviet Union.

Under the cover of their propaganda theme that the Soviet Union does not show any compromise in negotiations, the U.S. imperialists have, on the one hand, developed their armament program on land, in the air, on the sea, in space, and, on the other hand, blamed the Soviet Union and partly their French and British allies for the failure of the talks to evade their own responsibility and pressure their allies into carrying out the missile deployment plan.

They consider as "insufficient" the recent Soviet proposal to readily reduce the number of intermediary-range missiles deployed in its European territory to match the number of existing nuclear weapons of Britain and France and to destroy those reduced missiles. Even more, they declare that the Soviet Union's agreement on the destruction of such a number of missiles amounts to an "actual Soviet admittance of its superiority over Western Europe." The truth is that the Soviet Union only agrees to do this on the condition that a general agreement is signed to cover all types of intermediate-range weapons in Europe, including both missiles and aircraft carrying nuclear warheads.

Obviously, the U.S. imperialists have not displayed any good will. This was again made clear in a speech reeking with bellicosity delivered by Reagan at the UN General Assembly on 27 September 1983. The hawk Reagan tried to use his magic to turn himself into a dove by uttering heart-moving words about "peace commitment," "love for mankind," and "flexibility in negotiations." However, beside his wicked criticisms of the Soviet Union, Reagan's so called "new proposal" was merely a repeat of the "zero option" he put forth back in March this year, which demands that the Soviet Union destroy all of its intermediate-range missiles in return for the nondeployment of new missiles by the United States, while the United States still has the right to retain the nuclear weapons already emplaced in Europe and even to deploy missiles in other areas as well.

It is regrettable that the U.S. imperialists' propaganda machinery has affected a number of the uninformed or those without a class stand who maintain that the Soviet Union is "equally responsible" for world tension as the United States. This is tantamount to giving a boost to the imperialists' allegations about "the Soviet military threat" and "the danger from the East": and, be it willingly or not, to approving of the crimes planned by the U.S. imperialists against mankind. People of good will in the world clearly recognize the Soviet Union's just and righteous stand--that of preventing the dangerous arms race, gradually reducing nuclear weapons on the basis of equality and mutual security, and finally reaching all-round and absolute disarmament. In his extremely important speech on 28 September, Comrade I.V. Andropov once again laid bare the warlike face of the U.S. imperialists, pointed out the Soviet Union's sense of responsibility in doing its best to prevent a nuclear disaster, and, at the same time, sounded the warning that the Soviet Union has sufficient forces to defend its own security as well as

that of its friends and allies under all circumstances. The Soviet Union has been very flexible in negotiations. This flexibility, however, has its limit, which is the vital security interests of the Soviet Union and all other countries of the socialist community. The imperialists should not hope to impose any conditions that exceed this limit!

Due to the bellicosity and stubbornness of the U.S. imperialists, the situation may develop in an even more complicated manner. What must be done by all those who are concerned about the situation is to rally all the forces of socialism, peace, democracy, and progress regardless of differences in their political standpoints and ideology as well as in the way to assess the current tension or to defend peace, in order to attain the following objectives: stop the expansion of nuclear arms stockpiles; lessen the race in both nuclear and conventional weapons; set up regions free of nuclear weapons; advance toward comprehensive and absolute disarmament; eliminate hot spots of tension in the various regions; undertake political negotiations rather than military confrontation; and bring peace, freedom, independence, and prosperity to all nations.

These tasks will surely be carried out by the world's peoples even if the U.S. imperialists will at the end of 1983 stubbornly go ahead with their missile deployment plan. This will start off a new round in the arms race, but it will neither change the existing military-strategic balance nor reverse the military detente already achieved in the 1970's. Or will it change the balance of force in the world that is favorable to the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Peace, just like war, is indivisible. The internationalization of man's social life as described by V.I. Lenin not long after the October Revolution has not attained a high level. In this sense, any big event, no matter where it may take place, will affect the world situation. Any regional struggle is, therefore, closely linked with the "which will win" struggle between socialism and capitalism worldwide.

The current struggle for peace, notably the immediate struggle against the deployment of U.S. intermediary-range missiles in Western Europe, is closely linked with the struggle to build socialism and communism in the socialist countries, with the struggle against the rule of industrial-military conglomerates and for the rights to freedom and democracy in the capitalist countries, and with the struggle for independence, freedom, and progress in the third world countries. Conversely, all of these struggles have a decisive impact on the defense of peace. Therefore, giving support to these struggles constitutes an important task.

Struggling for peace is also a direct task of our Vietnamese people. It is closely linked with the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between the two roads in our country. The cauldron of tension kindled in Southeast Asia by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists is still smoldering. By building socialism successfully and defending our socialist fatherland firmly, we will make a contribution to the struggle for the defense of world peace just like in the past, when our people's valiant struggle against the U.S. imperialist

aggression was an extremely important contribution to the transition to detente in the 1970's.

Fully aware of the danger of a nuclear war and limited wars as well as of the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, we, by undertaking concrete deeds in diverse forms, are determined to join the world's peoples in the struggle to defend world peace and stay the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries.

CSO: 4210/15

## RADIO MOSCOW INTERVIEW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 64-65

[Interview with TAP CHI CONG SAN Editor-in-Chief Hong Chuong]

[Text] Editorial Note: recently a Moscow Radio correspondent interviewed Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief of TAP CHI CONG SAN. Below are the questions and responses from that interview.

Question: Comrade, could you give us your opinion on world reaction to the downing of the South Korean airliner in the Far East?

Answer: Due to the policy of stepping up the arms race pursued by the U.S. and other imperialists in the NATO bloc, the world situation is now very tense. Mankind is facing the danger of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is consistently pursuing a policy of safeguarding world peace. The Soviet Union has on several occasions put forward fair and reasonable proposals for maintaining peace and detente and saving mankind from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. Recent proposals made by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, reflect the Soviet Union's good will toward easing tension in the world. It is regrettable that these Soviet proposals have not met a positive response from the Western countries.

Recently, seizing the opportunity of the downing of a South Korean airliner in the Far East, the United States and other Western countries launched a widespread campaign aimed at slandering the Soviet Union and spoiling the world atmosphere. Naturally, every country has the right to take necessary steps to defend its lands, airspace and territorial waters. This is the sacred and inviolable right of national defense. The U.S. government used this South Korean airliner to reconnoiter Soviet military bases in the Far East. The U.S. government used passengers aboard the airliner to cover up its criminal act. It must bear full responsibility for the tragic death of the passengers aboard this South Korean airliner.

In Vietnam, U.S. soldiers used to force Vietnamese women and children to go in front of them whenever they went out for a fire attack or a land grabbing



operation against the Vietnamese people's liberated zones. They again resorted to this trick in the air space over Kamchatka and Sakhalin with the purpose of spying on Soviet military bases.

The use of a South Korean airliner by the United States to spy on Soviet military bases in Kamchatka and Sakhalin reminds us of the Tonkin Gulf incident, which took place nearly 20 years ago. In that incident, the United States ordered its Navy to provoke the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam, (now named the Socialist Republic of Vietnam) and then used this as a pretext to launch its air and naval attacks against the northern part of Vietnam. The United States also used this as an excuse to wage an extremely brutal war of aggression against Vietnam. The result of this war is known to everyone. Remembering the Tonkin Gulf incident, mankind is now cautious in the face of the U.S. provocation against the Soviet Union in its air space over Kamchatka and Sakhalin.

Question: Comrade, may we know your view on the current situation in Southeast Asia?

Answer: The current situation in Southeast Asia is very complex. Southeast Asian peace is being affected by the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the reactionaries in the Chinese leadership who are now acting hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists.

China and the United States are using Thai territory in their bid to nurture and assist the genocidal Pol Pot clique--the murderer who massacred millions of Kampuchean civilians--and to use this clique against the rebirth of the Kampuchean nation and against peaceful national construction in the three Indochinese countries. The governments of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have on several occasions reaffirmed their policy of achieving peaceful coexistence with the five countries in ASEAN. It is the policy of the governments of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, friendship and cooperation. Southeast Asian peace will be securely restored if the Chinese and U.S. governments stop their interference in the internal affairs of Southeast Asian countries.

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## A BRAZEN ACT OF PROVOCATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 66-67

[Article by Vu Hien]

[Text] The truth behind the act of provocation carried out against the Soviet Union by the United States by means of the South Korean airliner is becoming increasingly clear. The Soviet Union has made public various pieces of evidence of the violation of Soviet air space by this airliner. This pieces of irrefutable evidence permit us to conclude: it was a flight, which was arranged and planned in detail, to conduct a spy mission and carry out an act of provocation against the Soviet Union in the guise of a civilian airliner. It was a brazen act of provocation by the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. The Reagan administration, the ones who choreographed this tragedy of death, have used the corpses of the victims to raise a clamor and slander the Soviet Union, thus poisoning the international atmosphere.

No one is at all surprised by the inhumanity of those who sit in the White House, those who proclaim themselves to be the "protectors of human rights" and often shed crocodile tears over "human rights violations" that they themselves have caused. The entire world knows the heinous crimes that the U.S. imperialists have committed on all the continents and seas of this planet. And, their barbarous, cruel nature is exposed once again through this incident. They brazenly provoked the Soviet Union. They coldly risked the lives of the plane's passengers. And, they have impudently vilified the Soviet Union in the name of the dead.

It is impossible to fully understand the origin of this act of provocation without viewing it against the background of international conditions as they exist now, a time when the forces struggling for peace, national independence and social progress are becoming increasingly strong and the very bellicose Reagan administration is making every effort to promote the arms race, prepare for a nuclear war and implement a global counter-revolutionary strategy. The plot of the U.S. authorities to stage this incident consisted of two different plans. First, if the flight was made with no problems, that is, if the civilian airliner was successful, similar flights could be flown and the CIA would be able to gather much military intelligence in a strategically important region of the Soviet Union. Secondly, if the flight did not go well, (they acknowledged that if the aircraft had brazenly violated Soviet air

space, was intentionally "mute," "deaf" and "blind" and refused to land as ordered by the Soviet defense forces, there would surely have been no return flight), they would use "plan two," that is, use the corpses of the passengers on the plane to raise a clamor over the "inhuman" action of the Soviet Union, launch a "psychological war" against the Soviet Union, create a tense situation and accelerate the arms race. They want to use this incident to diminish the rising prestige of the Soviet Union resulting from its peace-loving foreign policy and the numerous initiatives filled with good will that have been made under this policy. They want to use this incident as an excuse to break the deadlock in the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning medium-range missiles in Europe. Reagan also wants to use this incident to further confuse the international political situation and pollute the atmosphere of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly. In addition, Reagan is using this incident to extort additional huge sums of money for the race to produce nuclear weapons so that he can be guaranteed of winning the U.S. presidential election next year.

Although the U.S. propaganda machine initially deceived some gullible persons, the truth is becoming increasingly evident in the world and even in the United States: the White House and the Pentagon used the South Korean airliner to spy on the Soviet military bases in Kamchatka and Sakhalin; they must bear the responsibility for the deaths of the passengers on that plane. All underhanded tricks designed to "punish" and oppose the Soviet Union, including prohibiting flights and landings by the Soviet civilian air line, which is a violation of international law, has failed to yield the results desired by Reagan. All of the anti-Soviet actions taken by the U.S. imperialists and their clique will meet with tragic defeat. The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists were quick to take the side of the United States against the Soviet Union in this incident, thus making their betrayal even more obvious.

In a straightforward and honest manner the Soviet Union explained the above mentioned incident in detail and presented its point of view. The handling of the incident by the Soviet air defense units, the fighter aircraft and the Soviet Eastern Command reflected vigilance, alertness, caution, good will and self-control and was very resolute and timely. The action taken by the Soviet Union was consistent with the International Civil Aviation Law signed in Chicago, to which the U.S. government is also a signatory. Its action was also consistent with the National Borders Law of the Soviet Union. The action taken by the Soviet Union was a correct action by a sovereign country, an action which any country would take to fulfill its security responsibility. It was the exercise of the legitimate right of self-defense to firmly defend the air space of the Soviet Union and maintain the security of the lives of the hundreds of millions of persons within the Soviet Union. Those who must bear the responsibility for the deaths of the 269 passengers on the South Korean airliner are the U.S. imperialists, the ones who risked the passengers' lives to conduct a spy flight over military bases of the Soviet Union.

The people of Vietnam sternly denounce this evil action taken by the Reagan administration to carry out a sinister scheme against the Soviet Union and exacerbate the tense situation in the world. We wholeheartedly applaud the correct, caution, resolute and responsible attitude of the Soviet Union. We fully support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and consider them to be extremely important contributions to the cause of safeguarding world peace.

## THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY STRUGGLES FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 83 pp 68-70

[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] The Greek Communist Party was founded on 17 November 1980. At first, the party was known as the Greek Socialist Workers Party; 2 years later it changed its name to the Greek Communist Party. The party has waged a brave struggle and enjoys widespread influence among the working people of Greece.

In the face of the economic depression of the early 1930's and instability at home, the party led the people in a struggle against the capitalist dictatorship. In World War II, when Greece was occupied by the fascists, the party launched an anti-fascist movement and led the people in a guerrilla war, which culminated in the seizing of political power by armed force (December 1944).

At the end of World War II, the British imperialists brought the Greek government that was in exile in Cairo back to the country. The Greek Communist Party once again decided to use armed force to seize political power. Because the forces of the bourgeoisie were still strong, the party was defeated and ruthlessly suppressed, as a result of which it was forced to go underground. Some members of the party operated legally within the leftwing democratic front (EDA). However, in April, 1947, this organization was also banned. This situation caused the antagonisms within the party to become sharp antagonisms. The party encountered numerous difficulties and many of its members were arrested and imprisoned.

In 1974, when the fascist dictatorship collapsed and the law banning the communist party was repealed, the party resumed public activities, establishing its headquarters in the capital, Athens. In 1981 election, the party received many votes and became the third largest party in Greece (behind the All-Greece Social Movement and the All New Democratic Party), thereby bringing it influence within such organizations as the Greek Communist Youth Union, the Anti-Fascist Patriotic Front, the Democratic Workers Movement and so forth in Greece.

The Greek Communist Party has taken the position of developing itself into a large and strong revolutionary party of the working class and stresses the importance of both the vanguard role and the decisive impact of the party in uniting the forces struggling against imperialism and against the capitalist monopolies in Greece. With the 25,000 members that it has now, the Greek Communist Party occupies an important position in the political life of Greece.

The party views the Greek revolution as divided into two stages: the stage of resisting imperialism and the capitalist monopolies and the stage of socialist transformation. The party considers the struggle for national independence, democracy and economic development to be its immediate objective and always takes the lead in the struggles to bring about true changes that would open the way to socialism, struggles to improve the standard of living of the people, reduce military expenditures, change the tax system, expand the sectors of the public economy, etc.

The 11th Congress of the Greek Communist Party (December, 1982) was of especially important significance not only to the communists of Greece, but to all the Greek people as well. The congress took place amidst a situation in which the Greek government, faced with demands by the people, had been forced to initiate several democratic reforms and repeal reactionary laws that had been in effect since the time of the civil war. However, these reforms failed to satisfy the demands of the people, namely, their demands to take action against the imperialists and capitalist monopolies, bring the country from its crisis and open the way toward socialism. Therefore, the congress adopted a line and pressing measures designed to enable communists to participate more effectively in the task of protecting national independence, democracy and peace, bringing Greece from its state of crisis and moving it forward.

The congress appraised the economic crisis that Greece is now experiencing as an especially serious crisis that is continuing to develop on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. The party maintains that this economic crisis is the result of the rule of monopolistic capitalism and of economic development based on the pursuit of profits by the capitalist monopolies at home and abroad.

Production in Greece has been stagnated for many years, industrial output has declined, the scale of investments in the economy has shrunk and inflation has devoured the income of the working people. More and more enterprises are being closed and unemployment, which is rising daily, now stands at 8 percent of the country's workforce.

Because Greece is a member of the European Common Market, goods of the western European countries have flooded the Greek market, thereby bringing tremendous pressure to bear upon the products of local industry.

In the face of this situation, the party demands that profound structural changes be brought about in each field of the economy and demands that the cause of the crisis and the worsening of the crisis be abolished, namely, the exploitation of mega-profits by powerful capitalists at home and abroad.

In order to bring the country from its present stage, the Greek Communist Party has demanded that the government initiate true changes, the most pressing of which involves the adopting of measures against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies, the limitation of their special rights and privileges and the nationalization of a number of strategically important sectors of the Greek economy. The party has also demanded that investments be oriented toward production and that the tax system be changed to benefit the working people.

In the spirit of actively struggling to protect the rights of the working people, the Greek Communist Party supports the legitimate requirements of the people and demands an end to the activities of reactionaries who are attempting to undermine the reforms that have been initiated and plotting to nullify the revolutionary accomplishments that have been recorded by the working people.

As regards foreign affairs, the party demands that the Greek government withdraw from NATO and the European Common Market and dismantle the military bases of the United States in Greece. The party supports the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, considering these countries to be an important force in the struggle for the goals of peace, democracy and socialism. The party also criticizes the erroneous view that the threat to peace comes from "both sides" and has been caused by the "two superpowers." The party evaluates these views as attempts to conceal the crimes of the U.S. imperialists, as views which do not recognize the essential difference between the blocs, views which, in particular, do not reflect the obvious fact that imperialism, headed by the bellicose circles in the United States and its camp, is the only source of the threat of war. In essence, the erroneous views described above are views that weaken the struggle to safeguard peace and impede the implementation of the peace initiatives proposed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

As regards the possibilities for safeguarding peace, the Greek Communist Party maintains that because the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are pursuing the arms race, world peace is now seriously threatened. However, the forces safeguarding peace have never been as large or as strong as they are today. In the struggle to preserve peace, the party emphasizes the large and decisive role played by the Soviet Union, a role which no other country can assume, and views the Soviet Union as the only force capable of rallying the forces of peace in the world in order to thwart the bellicose actions of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, strengthen world peace and promote the relaxation of tensions in the world.

On the basis of this appraisal, the resolution of the 11th Congress of the Greek Communist Party states: "The stand taken by the countries of the world concerning the Soviet Union is truly the basic standard of proletarian internationalism."

The resolution of the congress also stressed the need for solidarity among the socialist countries and between the socialist countries and peace-loving forces in the struggle to block the threat of war and safeguard world peace. The resolution of the congress observed: "The socialist countries have truly



become the main force in the struggle against imperialism and the strongest pillar in the struggle by all nations, including our own (that is, Greece), for national independence, democracy and socialism."

The Greek Communist Party has always displayed sympathy and support for the struggle being waged by the people of the three countries of Indochina against Chinese expansionism and hegemony. The party has high praise for the resolution adopted by the high level conference of the three countries of Indochina and views the proposals made by this conference with regard to building Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability and close neighborly relations among the countries of the region as constructive proposals that reflect good will.

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